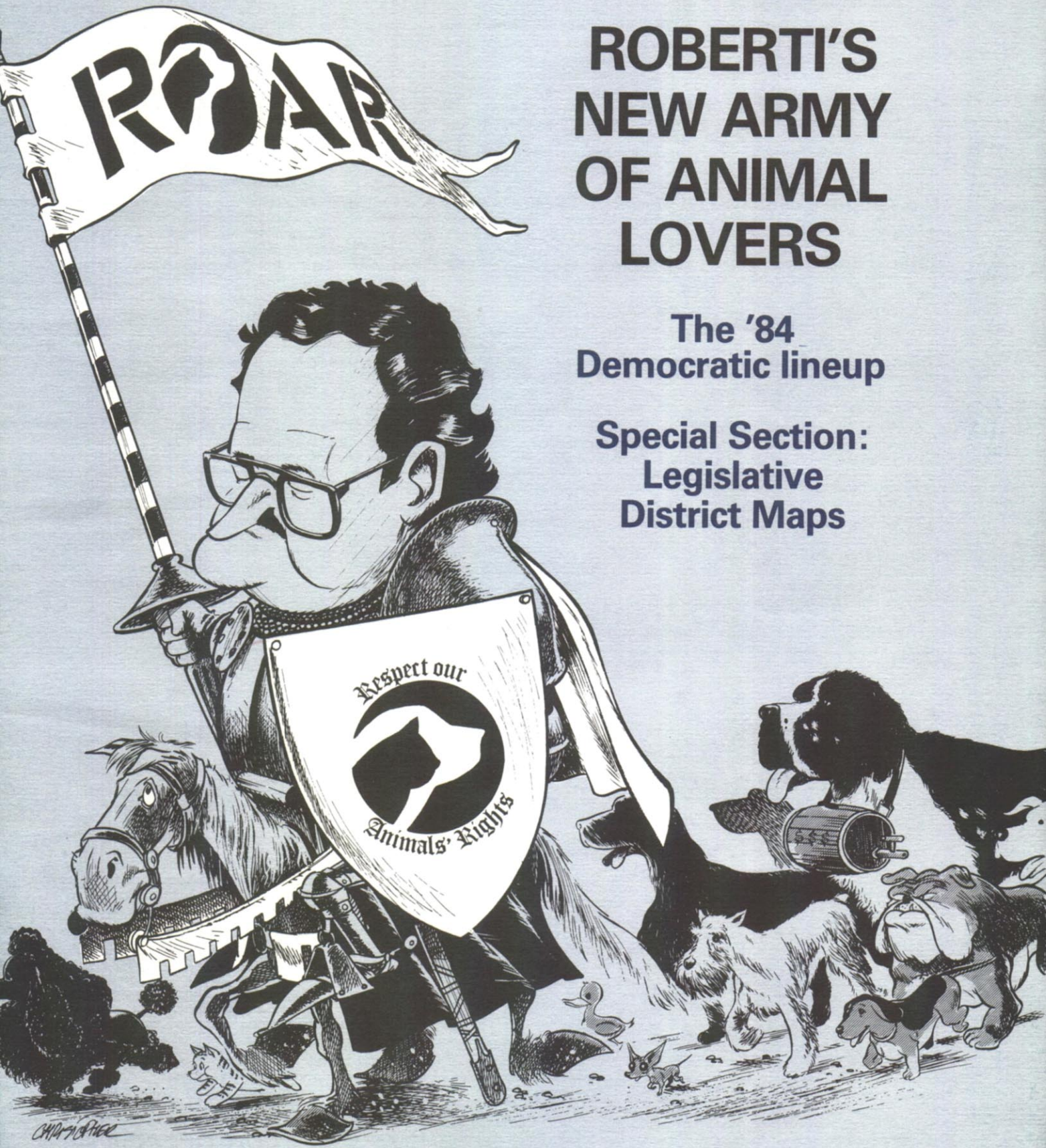
California Journal
e Monthly Analysis of State Government and Politics
MARCH 1983/$2.50

ROBERTI'S NEW ARMY OF ANIMAL LOVERS

The '84 Democratic lineup

Special Section: Legislative District Maps



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTENTS

Special Section: Legislative District Maps

After months of partisan warfare, court challenges and ballot-proposition battles, the Legislature has produced new boundaries for Assembly, Senate and congressional districts. In this pull-out section, the California Journal *presents specially commissioned maps and analyses of each district in geographic and political terms.*

Presidential parades for '84 93

By Michele Willens

Alan Cranston may be the only announced candidate, but some state Democrats are already joining other camps.

The senator's cousin 96

By John Gryka

Roberti and the animal lovers 97

By Martin Smith

The Senate president pro tem hopes to build a new power base by organizing animal-welfare activists.

Legislators' special immunity 100

By Dick Levinson

Getting a lawmaker into court can involve tricky timing because of a little-known constitutional privilege.

The training of Bob Naylor 103

By Vic Pollard

As Assembly GOP leader, is "Mr. Nice Guy" guiding or being pushed by his most conservative caucus members?

Taking Big Oil to court 121

By A. G. Block

If California wins its lawsuit against seven oil companies, the settlement and long-range impact could be enormous.

Energy standards — yes or no? 123

By Robert Feinbaum

'Adults only,' one year later 126

By Katherine Bishop

San Diego's 'Gang of Four' 127

By William Osborne

The race to replace Pete Wilson as mayor has attracted a crowded field and big money.

Challenge for community colleges 129

By Michael Fallon

The "smorgasbord years" are over, and two-year colleges must set priorities for their survival.

Video games for politicians 132

By Bill Richards

The return of Ed Reinecke 133

By Richard Zeiger

Ballot front 122
New in print 96
Rostrum 92
Leo Rennert 135

California Journal

The Monthly Analysis of State Government and Politics

Volume XIV, Number 3 **March 1983**

PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER
Thomas R. Hoeber
EDITOR
Robert S. Fairbanks
MANAGING EDITOR
Alice Nauman
ART DIRECTOR
Chris Van Overloop
ADVERTISING & CIRCULATION
Barbara Aguirre
WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT
Leo Rennert
CONTRIBUTING ARTISTS
Paul Duginski, Steve Greenberg
STAFF: Hope Tuttle, Mary E. Gillis
Robin G. Robinson
TELEVISION PRODUCTION
Joan Reiss
COUNSEL: Conrad Lee Klein
AUDITORS
Arthur Young & Company

CALIFORNIA JOURNAL is a non-partisan, non-ideological analysis of California government and politics established in 1970 and published monthly by The California Center, a non-profit, public-benefit corporation specializing in research and education in government.

The *Journal* is indexed in Public Affairs Information Service, New York Times Information Bank, Sage Urban Studies Abstracts, Urban Affairs Abstracts, Public Issues Index and California Periodicals Index.

California Journal (ISSN 00081205) is published monthly. Subscription rates: Libraries and Governmental Agencies, $35; Corporations and Associations, $75; Special Individual Rate, $22. Address all inquiries to California Journal, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, California 95814. Telephone (916) 444-2840.

Copyright 1983 by The California Center.

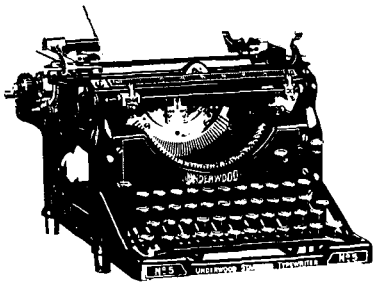
Second class postage paid at Sacramento. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to CALIFORNIA JOURNAL, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, CA 95814.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

R. WILLIAM HAUCK, chairman, executive vice president, California Research, Sacramento.
ROSELLEN KERSHAW, vice-chair, former president, California Division, AAUW, Fresno.
WILLIAM K. COBLENTZ, attorney, San Francisco.
DAVID CRIPPENS, vice president and station manager, KCET, Los Angeles.
STEPHEN D. GAVIN, vice president-corporate relations officer, Pacific Mutual, Newport Beach.
THOMAS R. HOEBER, publisher, *California Journal*, Sacramento.
E. L. LAMMERDING, chairman, retired, Capitol Bank of Commerce, Sacramento.
EUGENE C. LEE, director, Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California, Berkeley.
DONALD G. LIVINGSTON, vice president, Carter Hawley Hale Stores, Inc., Los Angeles.
ROBERT T. MONAGAN, president, California Manufacturers Association, Sacramento.
YOLANDA NAVA, Los Angeles.
VIGO G. (CHIP) NIELSEN, attorney, Dobbs and Nielsen, San Francisco.
MARCEL B. POCHÉ, justice, First District Court of Appeal, San Francisco.
RICHARD T. SILBERMAN, former state finance director, San Diego.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

UP FRONT



Notes and Items from Contributors and the Journal Staff.

Conway Collis, California chair for Senator Cranston's presidential campaign, is also a newly elected member of the State Board of Equalization. And there are some among his colleagues on the five-member board who are saying privately that he's spending too much time on Cranston and not enough on Equalization. Collis, who took office last month, says he's missed only a day and a half's worth of board meetings. And, he adds, friction between him and other board members results not from Cranston but from different ideas about how the board should be run. Collis, 35 and ambitious, thinks the board should take a more vigorous role in forming California's tax policy. Also, he says, the board should pay more attention to equity in the tax cases that come before it. Although a $50,000 tax judgment might be justified by a strict interpretation of the rules, it shouldn't be levied if it will put someone out of business, he says.

Assemblyman Terry Goggin is sore at us now for the mistake we made in printing his letter to the editor last month. He had sent the letter to protest our earlier story on his firing of committee consultant Thomas Willoughby and he said in part: "Unfortunately, this and previous articles seem to verify the widely perceived slide of *California Journal* into becoming the *National Enquirer* of state government." But we dropped the first seven words of the sentence, which as Goggin says in a follow-up letter, substantially impaired his meaning. As a *National Enquirer*, we still have a ways to go.

Tom Willoughby, by the way, is about to become a lobbyist for the California Hospital Association. As consultant to the Assembly's Energy and Natural Resources Committee (until Goggin fired him) he knew little about hospitals and health. But for a salary that's better than the $55,000 he was making before, he'll be learning fast.

Speaker Willie Brown is upset by suggestions that his policies are permitting a deterioration in the quality of the Assembly staff. Brown aides say that committee chairmen are not free to hire staff aides as they choose. The speaker's office retains the right to veto a chairman's choice, and has done so three times this year.

For himself, Brown has been beefing up his staff by reassembling the policy specialists who served him a decade ago when he was chairman of Ways and Means. With Steve Thompson now are John Mockler and Bob Connelly. If Phil Isenberg hadn't gotten himself elected to the Assembly last year, Brown would have him as well.

Pleas of ignorance did nothing to mute critics of Eva Garcia, member of the state Board of Education and Sacramento city councilwoman, when she was revealed as the landlord of two massage parlors. Garcia, who owns a realty company with her husband Frank, signed leases during 1980 with the parlors, both of which have been the scene of several prostitution arrests.

Garcia, appointed to the council last December to replace Lloyd Connelly who had won a seat in the state Assembly, is seeking election this year. But the revelations, appearing February 9th in *The Sacramento Union*, could damage her efforts. Not helping is the fact that her husband Frank admitted knowing the parlors operated on the couple's property.

Council members, leading a fight against red-light businesses, responded angrily, calling Garcia's situation "embarrassing" and insisting she sell the properties. Pleading ignorance of illegal activities on the sites, the couple have placed the rental sites up for sale.

Meanwhile, the governor's office has no word yet about Garcia's fate on the state Board of Education. She was a last-minute appointment by Governor Brown and faces confirmation by the state Senate.

(Ed Remitz, Sacramento)

There it was in our December issue: George Deukmejian's chief of staff, Steve Merksamer, saying that the governor-elect is not a man to make across-the-board cuts in state spending. "Any monkey can cut across the board," he said. "Leadership is when you set priorities." So on inauguration day Deukmejian orders a 2 percent across-the-board cut in state operations. We don't know who's the monkey now, but we know who's top banana.

When George Deukmejian was still attorney general last December and blocked three of Jerry Brown's appellate court nominees, he was following in the footsteps of none other than the late Chief Justice Earl Warren who did the same thing in 1940 when he was California's attorney general. Just as Deukmejian was accused of unfairness and prejudice, largely by liberals, Warren was accused of an attitude compounded of "Ku Klux Klan, anti-Semitism, witch-hunting, Republican partisanship and . . . general cussedness."

Alan Ashby, Capitol reporter for the *Los Angeles Daily Journal*, has looked into the incident and says that the object of Warren's blackball (and the source of the above quote) was Max Radin, a 60-year-old law professor from UC Berkeley who had been nominated to the state Supreme Court. He was a controversial, outspoken liberal whose nomination by Governor Culbert Olson outraged the yahoos and others who believed him to be a Communist or fellow traveler.

Ashby says, though, that Warren probably had more on his mind than the political dangers of approving so controversial a man. Four years before, when Warren was district attorney of Alameda County, Radin had suggested that the DA had used perjured testimony to win murder convictions in a politically sensitive case.

Anyway, when the time came for the three-member Commission on Judicial Appointments to make up its mind, Warren voted with John T. Nourse, senior justice of the court of appeal, to block Radin. The professor then returned to the university, retired in 1948 and died two years later. Warren, of course, went on to become one of the greatest civil libertarians in the history of the land. Which all goes to prove, says Ashby, that you never know how these politicians will turn out.

Chief Justice Rose Bird is said to be angered by a Deukmejian Administration move that could reduce her fiscal power over the appellate courts. Currently the state budget grants a lump sum to the Judicial Council, which Bird heads and which distributes the money to the five courts as it sees fit. Deukmejian's proposed budget would give each court a specific amount. The council could move funds between the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

courts later, but only with administration approval. Court insiders say the move originated with some appellate justices who felt that Bird and Company were playing favorites with the money. "It's a violation of the separation of powers," replies Burt Oliver, a staff official under the Judicial Council.

This is from a job application we received recently:

Dear Sir.

I am writing to enquier about employment oppertunities in your organazation. As a recent graduate of the Universaty of California with a degree in Political Science, I have a high degree of interest and knolege in Government.

I have twice passed the first round of testing for the Statedepartment, so feel I wuold be very good at reserching problems of Government, from the local level to the area of International Relations.

I am encloseing a copy of my resume for your consideration. I would apprecheate a response at your earliest convenience. Thank you for your consideration.

Imagine, such a person wanting a career in Journalizm.

Jerry Brown has formed a state political action committee, Committee for California, to raise money for himself and other Democrats and is planning a national PAC as well. Jodie Krajewski, who has headed Brown's fund raising in the past, says she and Brown are heading the state PAC and that Lloyd Rigler of Los Angeles is treasurer of the federal. There is also something in the works called "Continuum," a think tank of sorts, to get Brown's futuristic thoughts to the public. Meanwhile, the former governor is doing much traveling. A close friend says he has been offered book deals in the six figures.

(Michele Willens, Los Angeles)

The following was submitted by Devin Statham, 13-year-old son of Assemblyman Stan. Devin says he did it with the family computer, legislative handbooks and questions to legislators' offices. His interest in committee assignments is understandable: His father is one of the Republicans who lost a vice chairmanship this year.

- "In the private sector legislators had many occupations. The one field that had more than any other was attorneys. They occupy 19% of the Legislature.
- "The party registration in the Assembly is — 48 Democrats (60%) and 32 Republicans (40%). But in the Senate there are less Republicans. Their ratio is to 28 Democrats (70%) and 12 Republicans (30%).
- "There are 23 Assembly standing committees. The Republicans received no chairs and only one vice-chair. In the Senate there are 20 standing committees so there are 40 chair and vice-chair positions. (President pro Tem) David Roberti gave the Republicans a higher percentage of positions than their percentage of total membership.
- "Blacks hold 27 percent and Hispanics hold 13 percent of the total 22 Assembly standing committee chair positions. To rephrase that: 100 percent of the Assembly blacks and 60 percent of the Assembly Hispanics hold chair positions. In the Senate there are 40 chair and vice-chair positions, and every senator has one position.
- "Fifty percent of the Senate members have a higher degree than four years of college, but in the Assembly that percentage is only 38 percent.
- "I have found that most senators are elected first to the Assembly where they spend 5 to 10 years before they move on to the Senate. And by the way, I thought you would like to know the "least average" California legislator: She's a black Republican senator."

ROSTRUM

Short letters from subscribers are encouraged.

The high price of housing

Your article entitled "Answers From the Past for California's Housing Crisis" (*CJ*, January 1983) . . . notes a recent League of California Cities survey that . . . established that:

- 80-90 percent of development applications are approved at roughly the same densities for which they are applied. Thus the horror story of a local government decision substantially reducing density and increasing cost is not representative.
- While policies vary tremendously from city to city in terms of how many restrictions and how many additional cost items are added to the development approval process, these do not seem to be reflected in home prices which seem to be fairly constant from city to city and vary mostly by region. This suggests that these local restrictions, while undoubtedly important, do not seem to be major factors influencing the price of housing.
- Cities and counties have indicated in their general plans and zoning that they are prepared to approve residential development for over 2 million housing units which is enough to meet the state's housing needs for the next several years.
- Only 20 percent of housing approved in the last three years is proceeding to construction.

This surplus of approved housing sites throughout California is one of the reasons that local policies don't control sales prices. The obvious reason that these sites are not being built upon is that the price, which seems to vary from about $80,000 to $200,000 depending upon the region within the state, is, even at the lower end of the price scale, beyond the reach of at least 90 percent of the state's population.

City officials certainly agree with the final statement of the article that "between the ambience which a neighborhood wants and a lower but still adequate level of ambience, there is a gap into which more housing could go."

Cities are anxious to encourage more innovative approaches to more affordable housing, but which will do so in a manner which does not bring about as much citizen opposition. Most city officials find themselves in the middle, between the legitimate demands of both neighborhood groups and developers.

We all need to renew our pledge to work together to provide adequate and affordable housing in a very complex area where all parties should be partners.

DON BENNINGHOVEN
Executive Director,
League of California Cities

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Why Cranston's presidential bid won't stop Mondale, Glenn, Hart, etc.

By MICHELE WILLENS

It's too early.

So say the political reporters. Yet more than 200 of them showed up for California's Democratic Party convention in Sacramento in January. What drew them was the first "meaningless" cattle call and straw vote featuring the party's presidential hopefuls for 1984.

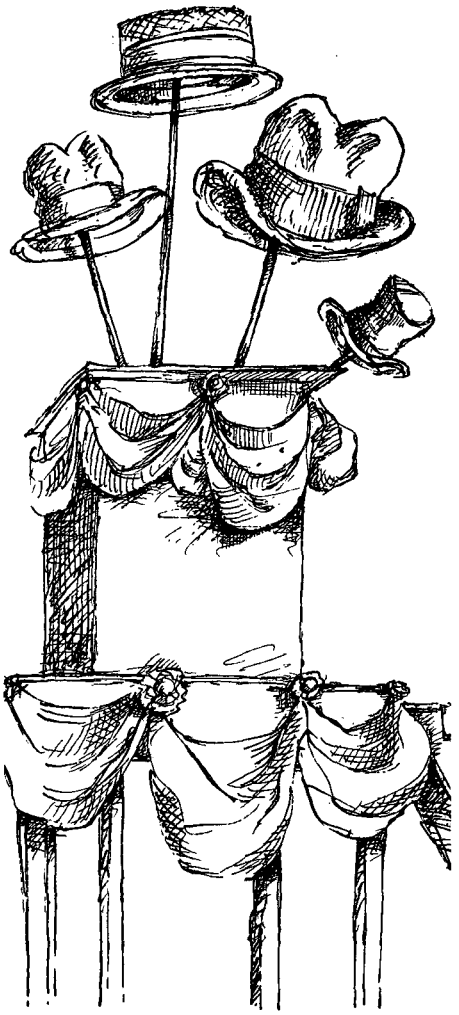
It's too early.

California's political operatives agree. Yet they are already raising money, organizing key committees and talking up their personal choices for next year.

With political realities dictating a two-year run for the presidency, the truth is that citizens across the country will be casting "meaningful" votes next year which will weed out the dreamers and elevate the rest. If this were the typical presidential political season, California would be gearing up to do what it has largely done in recent years: cough up big dollars and glamorous stars and export them to states with earlier primaries and caucuses.

But this is not a typical time for California Democrats who have a new state party chairman, Los Angeles attorney Peter Kelly. He insists on keeping a lot of the money right here to help strengthen the state party. And the Democrats also have a local boy, U.S. Senator Alan Cranston, in the race for president. Unlike another local boy who has run in the past few elections, Jerry Brown, this one is not only a tremendous vote-getter but is also well-loved and well-owed by many public officials and important political leaders.

Yet there are serious questions surrounding the Cranston effort: Can he



be taken seriously as presidential material outside his home turf? Will his candidacy tie up money and important people, resulting in California having less clout than ever in the national presidential contest?

To assess California's role, it is useful to look at some of the people already maneuvering for position in the 1984 sweepstakes:

• **WALTER MONDALE.** The person closest to the former vice president in California is Mickey Kantor, a partner in National Chairman Chuck Manatt's Los Angeles law firm. Kantor began his political-operative career in the state by guiding Alan Cranston's campaign for the Senate in 1974. Most recently he directed former Governor Jerry Brown's ill-fated run for the U.S. Senate.

Kantor speaks almost daily with Mondale but still has not decided whether to take an out-front role or remain in the friend-adviser capacity.

Another Californian already actively "Mondaleing" is Duane Garrett, 35, a wealthy San francisco attorney and art dealer. Garrett was a major fund-raiser for LA Mayor Tom Bradley's race for governor and also served as chairman of Barbara Boxer's successful San Francisco Bay Area congressional campaign. He is a relatively new force in California politics and, while titles haven't been bestowed yet, Garrett says, "I plan to have a major national campaign role. I plan to be involved with strategic as well as fund-raising aspects."

Garrett considered similar roles in the campaigns of both Cranston and Congressman Gary Hart. But in Garrett's judgment, "Hart can't put it together at this time, and Cranston's isn't a viable candidacy." (Leaders in the Hart camp say, for the record, that they turned away Garrett when, in the words of one, "He asked for everything but the vice presidential slot.")

Other key Mondale people in California are:

Stuart Moldaw, a general partner of U.S. Venture Partners in San Francisco. Moldaw was state finance chairman for Bradley and says he is "already spending half my time on the campaign and am on its national board of directors."

Irene Tritschler, who will probably head things up on a day-to-day basis in Southern California. She too is largely a fund-raiser, last active for Bradley.

Philip Schaefer, a San Francisco stockbroker who was one of the first Californians to support Jimmy Carter.

Michele Willens is a free-lance writer in Los Angeles and a regular contributor to the Journal.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Don Muir, a Northern California fund-raiser last active with Bradley.

Maureen Kindel, a powerful political activist and president of the Los Angeles Public Works Commission.

Bruce Corwin, Los Angeles-based theater owner and former Democratic State Party official.

Ed Sanders, Century City attorney and important activist in the Jewish community.

Mondale's ties in California are strong, and he emerged as the clear second choice of the delegates to the state convention. Cranston had wooed and locked up most of the delegates early, and some observers say it was a good thing he did because Mondale won the day on the applause meter after a stem-winding speech. Mondale's operatives are clearly hoping that if, or when, Cranston drops out of the race, his people will be able to move easily to Mondale.

Two major concerns are Mondale's ties to Carter and his well-documented former lack of burning ambition. But Kantor says that a new Mondale has emerged. "For the first time, he's internalized the fact he's number one," Kantor says. "He has more confidence, is more at ease and less cautious."

• **GARY HART.** This is the "Y&V" campaign, for youth and vigor. That is the image Hart backers hope to project, along with emphasis on serious issues and strong organization.

Samples of all three elements were evident at the convention, where more than 60 youthful volunteers were running around everywhere, promoting attendance at an "issues breakfast" which Hart chaired, as well as a "schmooze and booze" party at night.

The key Hart people in California so far include:

John Emerson, 29, also a lawyer with the Manatt firm. Emerson won't leave the firm but will probably be state coordinator of the Hart campaign.

Mike Medavoy, a powerful film company executive who put together a party at 20th Century Fox which netted Hart about $100,000.

Jacquie Basha, a respected political operative in Sacramento who will head Hart's "California desk" in Washington.

Janice Berman, wife of Los Angeles Congressman Howard Berman and a longtime political activist. She'll be involved with fund raising and organizing women's groups.

EMERSON

MEDAVOY

MOLDAW

Ron Silverman, yet another Manatt attorney, who is taking on a major fund-raising role.

Bill Bradley, 27, a Sacramento-based environmental and political activist and fund-raiser who may end up running things on a day-to-day basis.

Richard Maullin, formerly of Jerry Brown's administration.

David Mixner, considered a powerful strategist and fund-raiser in Los Angeles Democratic circles.

As Mixner see its, Hart has to do several things to become a potent force in California: "He has to play to his strengths which are his youth and futuristic outlook. He has to convince traditional Democrats of his commitment to social issues and human rights. And he has to use his skills as a spectacular organizer to attract a lot of the bright, young first-timers."

Hart's experience as an organizer (he headed McGovern's 1972 campaign) has convinced him to set up a decentralized operation. His workers are already meeting with volunteers in various regions of the state, and they plan to have a network of mini-organizations operating by the end of the year.

"There will be no national staff coming in at the end to push local people aside," insists Emerson. "Gary believes in having strong state people and trusting our judgment that we know our state best."

Hart's drawbacks, according to his supporters, include his speaking style which generally fails to turn on crowds. That was the case at the convention. One of his top aides says, "We'd done our job and primed the crowd — there was a sense of anticipation. But he wasn't as exciting as we'd hoped and he spoke far too long. It would have been a good speech on the Senate floor."

They also fear that Hart may become known as the "Hollywood candidate" because of functions like the one at 20th Century Fox and friends like Jack Nicholson and Warren Beatty. But Mixner says, "That connection didn't hurt Bobby or Jack Kennedy."

The Hart people were the most aggressive in going after Ted Kennedy supporters as soon as the Massachusetts senator dropped out. And at the Sacramento convention, Hart was the only speaker to mention Kennedy, a clue that there will be an attempt to portray himself to Californians as the candidate closest to Kennedy.

• **JOHN GLENN.** Although he is reportedly the candidate Ronald Reagan fears most, Glenn's activities in California are just beginning to materialize. There is a lot of interest and a lot of curiosity.

FGK F G Kimball Company, inc.
Petition Consultants

A FULL SERVICE PETITION CAMPAIGN ORGANIZATION

Our Expertise Encompasses:
- Processing, Caging, Submission
- Petition Design and Printing
- Volunteer Coordination
- Paid Signature Solicitation

Our Experience Includes:
17 State and Local Initiatives, Referendums, Recalls and Plebiscites, including, most recently, Jarvis, Peripheral Canal, and Gun Control.

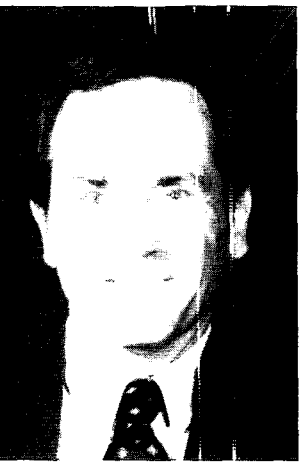
Phone (213) 991-6491
31220 LaBaya, Suite 111, Westlake Village, CA 91362

Non Partisan Since 1969

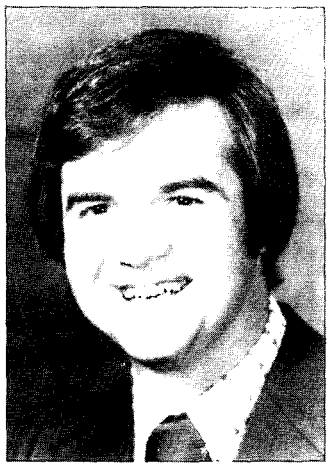
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

His key operatives in the state so far are **M. Larry Lawrence,** a former party official and chairman of the board of the Hotel del Coronado; Assemblyman **Bruce Young;** and **Joe Cerrell,** a Los Angeles political consultant whose firm (Cerrell and Associates) handled Glenn's convention activities. Cerrell probably will help to guide Glenn's future statewide efforts.

Lawrence says most of the work this next year will be raising money. He's setting up a finance committe now. Assemblyman Young organized a dinner for about 30 legislators to meet Glenn. "A lot of them are contacting me now, even though they supported Cranston at the convention," Young says. "There is a lot of interest in Glenn."


LAWRENCE

COLLIS


YOUNG

The pluses for Glenn, according to his supporters, are that he is a relatively fresh personality on the national scene; he's an old-fashioned American-hero type; and he is perceived as the only real moderate Democrat among the group, making him the "pragmatic" choice of the season.

They admit that the former astronaut must develop more specific views on major issues and project a more exciting image. His speech at the convention was filled with generalities, causing one observer to dub Glenn "the candidate of the trite stuff."

"Bobby Kennedy wasn't an exciting person, but he excited a lot of people," says Joe Cerrell. "Glenn's the same way. His support will come from the most moderate wing of the party and from aerospace and big-business types who think he's the one who can beat Reagan. If he has a weakness in California, it's that he doesn't have enough IOUs built up -- he doesn't have as many chips to call in as the others," says Cerrell.

Stuart Spencer, a close Reagan ally and political operative, sums up the challenge: "If they can build charisma around John Glenn, they've got a viable contender."

• **ALAN CRANSTON.** Cranston spent 10 days and $30,000 locking up delegates to the state convention, figuring that if he lost a straw vote in his home state, irreparable harm would be done to his campaign. Now the question is: Was the convention poll only a chance to say, "Thanks for the memories, Alan," or did it reflect true commitment for 1984?

"We don't feel we have California locked up by any means," says Sergio Bendixen, Cranston's national campaign manager. "We'll make a major effort out there, including a big dinner in April."

Board of Equalization member **Conway Collis,** a former aide to Cranston in Washington, has been the senator's chief operative in the state so far. Most public officials and legislators have agreed to support the 68-year-old senior senator as long as he remains in the race. But their passion may be temporary. "I'm for Cranston," says state Senate President pro Tem David Roberti, "though to what extent will always relate to viability. He's got a job to do now, and that's mostly outside California. He still has the aura of a favorite son."

Cranston will have no problem raising enough money here to keep him traveling around the country. But some Democrats privately fear that his candidacy could stifle action in California — that the "Cranston squeeze" exhibited at the convention could turn into a "Cranston freeze." Contributors and public officials may feel obligated to stand by him until they see if he can have impact elsewhere. That could inhibit other political activity in the state, as many Democrats may be hesitant to get involved with alternative candidates if they feel Cranston has the state locked up.

The Hart, Mondale and Glenn people say they have enough action already in the state to ensure that they will wage full campaigns. In fact, they are finding ways to explain how the Cranston factor could help them. The Mondale people say Cranston's candidacy could last just long enough to force out lesser-known opponents, like Hart and Glenn. That would leave Mondale strong and the second choice for the Cranstonites. The Hart and Glenn supporters say that Cranston will prevent Californians from moving immediately to Mondale, thus giving their candidates time to get known and, they hope, loved.

So it appears now that all the presidential hopefuls of 1984 will make strong efforts in California, knowing that from 20 to 25 percent of their campaign dollars will probably emanate from the Golden State, if recent history repeats itself. Only if Cranston manages to put the state "on hold" could it lose its clout as the site of important activity and resources.

Perhaps the biggest question about Cranston is a personal one: What got into him? One of his closest friends in California says, "The thing that always made Alan such a great senator was his lack of ego and total dedication (to Senate business). I honestly don't know what bit him — but I tell you, he is *into* it."

Capitol Services
Simplifying State government
David E. Kalb, President

Specialists in Administrative Problem Solving

Monitor regulatory process.
Mediate consumer complaints.
Liaison for State contracts, grants and loans.
Legislative, administrative and document research.

2418 K Street, Suite A Sacramento, CA 95816 916/443-0657

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ATTEMPTED MURDER AND FEAR OF RETRIBUTION

The senator's cousin and the street gang

By JOHN GRYKA

Democratic Senator Joe Montoya of El Monte says he detests street gangs that flourish in many parts of his district and calls them a shame on the Hispanic culture. What's more, he says, he's voted for every piece of anti-gang legislation, either Democrat- or Republican-sponsored, that has ever come before him during his 10 years in the Legislature. But how tough should a man be when the street gang member is a young relative and the charge of attempted murder could send the young man to prison for the best years of his life?

The story begins at 2 a.m. last August 4th, as Ramiro Aguila, 33, of La Puente lies asleep on a couch in the front room of his small home, his back to a flickering television set. His wife and three children had gone to bed several hours before. Suddenly, the front door flies open and a small group of young men bursts into the room. A shot is fired into Aguila's back and the young men leave, but only to the street in front. There, they are smashing windows in the car at the curb when one makes a discovery. "It's the wrong house," he says.

Police arrive shortly afterward and piece together this background: The young men were gang members seeking a member of a rival gang. But they entered Aguila's home instead of the house next door. The shots fired paralyzed him from the waist down.

On the strength of testimony from Aguila and from the alleged intended victim, officers arrest 17-year-old Thomas Santistevan of Bassett, Montoya's third cousin, He alone was charged in the attempted murder and burglary.

That Montoya would defend his relative and proclaim him innocent is not surprising. But he has gone further, using the authority of his office in Santistevan's behalf. He has assigned an aide to investigate the case and has himself written to the court on Senate stationery requesting that Santistevan's bail be reduced.

Montoya says that though he is close to the Santistevan family (he is godfather to Thomas' older sister), he is doing no more for the youth than he would for any other constituent. As proof, he cites his assistance several years ago to a foster mother accused of murdering a baby. Also, Montoya says, he did not enter the Santistevan case on his own. His bail reduction letter to the court last November was requested by his cousin's attorney.

To Montoya, his cousin's gang membership is regrettable but does not make the youth guilty of this crime. He feels that the youth is the victim of an anti-gang "hysteria" on the part of prosecutors and the courts. Their only concern, he says, is to put Mexican gang members in jail.

But most of all, Montoya resents the strategy of his cousin's attorney, Stewart Holmes of Pomona. Montoya refers to Holmes scornfully as "this ex-cop" and says that Holmes has told Santistevan that the youth's innocence may do him no good unless he cooperates with police and tells what he knows of the crime. (Holmes refused to discuss the case or Montoya's assertions.) Because of the possibility of street gang retribution, Montoya explains, "If the kid were to cop out, his sister, his mother and father, his older brother would all be in danger of their lives."

Montoya says that he believes in cooperating with police but has "sympathy" for his cousin's decision to remain silent. But how can law enforcement succeed without cooperation? "I don't know the answer," Montoya replies.

On February 11th, after two days of deliberation, a jury found Santisteven not guilty of the crime.

John Gryka is editor of the Sun-Independent Newspapers in the San Gabriel Valley.

NEW IN PRINT

Managerial Judges — Report by Judith Resnik, published by the Institute for Civil Justice of The Rand Corporation. Analyzes the growing trend toward judges' "management" of civil cases, rather than simply presiding over formal trials. Discusses the role of the court in ongoing issues like prison reform and school desegregation. What happens to the adversarial tradition of jurisprudence when settlement, not adjudication, is emphasized? Order R-3002-1CJ from Publications Department, The Rand Corporation, 1700 Main St., Santa Monica, CA 90406. Price $7.50.

Report of the Commission on Personal Privacy — Examines invasions of the right of personal privacy in all areas, with particular emphasis on discrimination based upon sexual orientation, in both public and private sectors. Documents the extent of personal privacy infringement, identifies existing remedies, and makes far-reaching legislative, legal and administrative recommendations to insure protection of personal privacy. The commission

Report on Racial, Ethnic and Religious Violence in California — By the Governor's Task Force on Civil Rights created by former Governor Jerry Brown in 1980. Analyzes the forms of racial, ethnic and religious violence and makes 41 major recommendations for its prevention. The 200-page report is $7.30; a 43-page summary of recommendations is available without charge. Order both from the Department of Fair Employment and Housing, 1201 I St., Room 211, Sacramento 95814, (916) 323-5255.

Public Reports of Auditor General Investigations (January 1, 1981 through December 31, 1982). — Published by the Auditor General, 660 J St., Suite 300, Sacramento 95814. First public release of investigations of state employee infractions and violations under the much publicized "Whistleblower" program for reporting improper government activities. Contains the results of 72 investigations involving the misuse of state property, misspending of state funds, and improper on-the-job activities. Price, $1.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

David Roberti's new weapon: the organized ROAR of animal lovers

By MARTIN SMITH

One of the biggest success stories in California politics has been written by state Senator H. L. (Bill) Richardson, who has mobilized gun owners all over the country with direct-mail pitches for contributions to help conservative candidates. If such single-issue fund raising works for conservatives, why can't it work equally well for liberals?

That's the question about to be answered by state Senate President pro Tem David Roberti of Los Angeles. Roberti has organized a political action committee for animal welfare supporters — called ROAR, for Respect Our Animals' Rights — to parallel and, possibly, undercut the highly successful gun-owner PACs formed by Richardson. In soliciting money from animal rights backers, Roberti promises to pass it only to those candidates "who will not compromise" on the single issue of concern to them.

This doesn't mean that Roberti is abandoning his other legislative and philosophical interests. He thinks he may even advance some of them by helping to elect more lawmakers sympathetic to animal welfare legislation. Just as officeholders elected with gun-lobby support usually vote the conservative way on other issues as well, candidates who win office with money supplied by animal welfare backers are likely, in Roberti's view, to lean his way on other matters, too.

Jonathan Lewis, a Sacramento political consultant whose firm has been given the job of administering ROAR-PAC and directing its fund-raising appeals, argues: "People who are interested in protecting life will generally have a humane value system about the world."

And Roberti adds: "It's my attempt at coming up with a direct-mail operation aimed at an interest group that would generally have a humanitarian point of view."

Roberti's new PAC is but the latest product of his continuing interest in animal welfare. Indeed, among old timers at the Capitol, none can remember when such a high-ranking lawmaker took so much interest in the well-being of dogs, cats and other beasts.

Until Roberti took power in the Senate, the animal welfare lobby in the Capitol had been noted more for its enthusiasm — especially that of its most visible advocate, the flamboyant Gladys Sargent — than for its overall effectiveness. In the male-dominated Legislature, animal welfare activists often have been the butt of fraternity house-like humor — when they haven't been the object of resentment on the part of those who would prefer to see greater efforts expended in behalf of persons, not animals.

Sometimes the very intensity of pro-animal activists has proven counter-productive. It's even reawakened memories, among older politicians, of some of the anti-vivisectionist excesses of the Hearst press in the days when the newspaper chain's founder was still alive and much influenced by the views of actress Marion Davies.

Fairly or not, Gladys Sargent, a wealthy Piedmont woman and part-owner of the Oakland-Los Angeles Raiders football team, has often been regarded as symbolizing the animal welfare lobby in Sacramento. Over the years, her sheer energy and determination have given her victories in some animal welfare battles before the Legislature. Often, though, she pressed her case so vigorously as she buttonholed lawmakers in the Capitol corridors that she alienated them and created a backlash against her own cause. Some lawmakers privately say this was the case last year when she supported a bill by Roberti to keep pound animals out of the hands of medical laboratories, which use them for experimental purposes.

The bill had the solid backing of animal welfare supporters, including a number of entertainment world luminaries. (Roberti's Senate district includes Hollywood.) Among them were Loretta Swit and Gretchen Wyler. Petitions containing a quarter-million signatures were presented in behalf of the bill.

Facing the opposition of the California Medical Association, the University of California, Stanford University, the University of Southern California and other medical schools

Martin Smith is the political editor of McClatchy Newspapers.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and organizations, however, the bill was bottled up in a Senate committee where it seemed to have died. At this point, it became apparent that the animal welfare lobby was no longer being left solely in the hands of dedicated political amateurs. With the power of David Roberti in its arsenal, the lobby had acquired new sophistication and new muscle. Acting alone in his capacity as Senate president pro tem, he resuscitated the bill by waiving rules and redirecting the measure to a more compliant committee where it was approved and sent to the upper house floor.

The bill then won the votes, if not the hearts, of a majority of the full Senate. Some senators undoubtedly had doubts about the bill but voted for it to accommodate their leader, all the while confident that the Assembly would cooperate in arranging a more graceful and quiet death for the legislation.

Roberti, however, in the closing days of the session demonstrated he really meant business on animal welfare causes. He proceeded to outrage much of official and semi-official Sacramento by employing exceptionally heavy-handed tactics to force the measure through or around Assembly committees where it was being bottled up, much as it had been in the Senate. When the first lower house committee refused approval, Roberti successfully pressured Willie Brown into reassigning the measure to another committee by refusing to permit Senate action on major Assembly bills until his pound-seizure legislation reached the lower house floor.

It wasn't as if legislators were unfamiliar with the sight of powerful associates employing strong-arm methods in behalf of key bills. This time, though, in the traditional view of many legislators and Capitol observers, the tactics appeared grossly inappropriate, considering the legislation which, to most lawmakers, seemed insignificant, if not harmful to medical research. Resentment against the tactics was increased by their success. They enabled Roberti to force the bill to the Assembly floor where, only on the final night of the session, it finally was defeated.

An angry response

Keen as the disappointment was to animal welfare supporters, Roberti privately is said to feel that he accomplished much in simply pushing the bill as far along as he did — just one step short of putting the bill on the governor's desk. But whatever pleasure the Senate leader took in this, his volatile temper erupted when, after the session especially, he came under heavy fire over his tactics. A *Sacramento Bee* editorial particularly angered him when it said Roberti had threatened "to hold up everything to secure passage of a so-called pet-protection bill whose net effect is to make scientific research with animals a little harder and more expensive but which, in the final analysis, was far more important as an attempt to protect David Roberti's ego than it was to protect animals."

Instead of turning to a horsewhip or dueling pistols, the way politicians did 120 years ago when they had been outraged by criticism in the press, the feisty Roberti reached for the modern equivalent — his mailing list. He sent letters to thousands of his supporters, expressing regret at the bill's defeat and blaming it in part on the refusal of such newspapers as *The Bee* to take the proposal seriously. He suggested that animal welfare supporters write to *The Bee*'s editor to express their displeasure with his newspaper's "callous disregard for animal rights issues and for its cavalier dismissal of this bill."

The call set off an impressive response. More than 1,000 letters flooded into the editor's office on the issue, 95 percent of which adopted the tone advocated by Roberti. Only a few indicated they didn't like his tactics any more than the newspaper did. While Roberti says this response to *The Bee* isn't what gave him the idea of ROAR-PAC, which already was in the back of his mind, the letters demonstrated that animal welfare backers are a force which can be marshalled easily. Certainly, the flood of angry letters to the newspaper — far and away the most *The Sacramento Bee* has ever received on any one editorial — did nothing to discourage Roberti from going ahead with ROAR-PAC.

Next he sent a fund-raising appeal to 20,000 animal welfare supporters. This letter expressed a bitterly disillusioned view of the legislative process and blamed the defeat of his pound-seizure bill on the control well-heeled opponents have on the California Legislature.

"Animal experimentation means money to the big lobbies in Sacramento," declared Roberti's letter. "Unfortunately money talks in the Legislature. Those who profit from the cruelty and abuse of animals have all the money they need to influence legislation."

Roberti has conceded that this letter — quickly composed before the project was well-organized and placed in the hands of Jonathan Lewis and his associates — was indelicate, especially coming from a legislative leader, in de-

Announcing

The Green Book

"The monthly updated service of gubernatorial appointments"

"The Green Book is an idea whose time has come; a necessity for every businessperson who deals with state government. Its monthly updates of new gubernatorial appointments makes it an invaluable reference source. How else can we get this information without endless hours of digging for it?"

JOHN T. HAY
Executive Vice President
California Chamber of Commerce

- ☑ **You'll get** a loose-leaf binder containing every gubernatorial appointment.
- ☑ **You'll get** a biographical data sheet on each new appointment made by the governor.
- ☑ **You'll see** each appointee as each will be pictured.
- ☑ **You'll have** a brief summary of the appointee's job description.
- ☑ **You'll know** when the appointee's term expires if it's a term appointment.

YES, I want to subscribe to the services that are offered by The Green Book. I have enclosed my payment of $100 for the special pre-publication subscription price, a savings of $50 over the regular subscription price

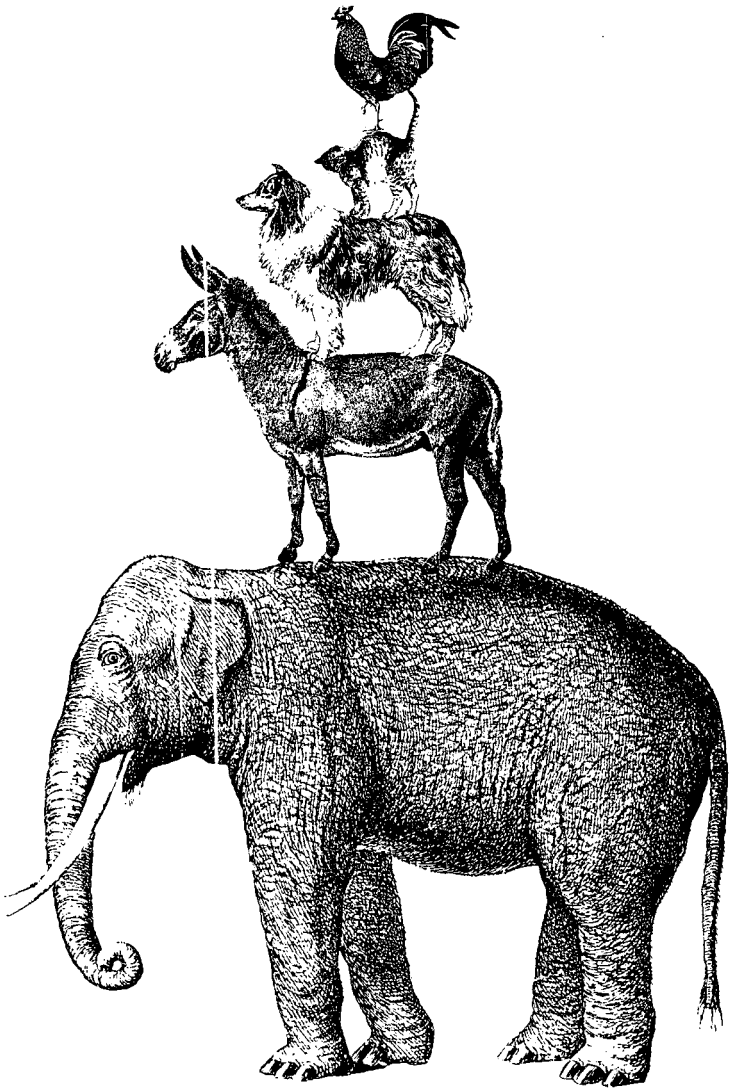
Name _____

Address _____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

THE GREEN BOOK
Post Office Box 1863-G, Sacramento, Ca. 95809

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



claring that "money talks" in the Legislature.

"I didn't like that, really," he told an interviewer. ". . . It's not any great revelation, but I guess it demonstrates an excess of candor."

Still later, in a cordial meeting with the same *Sacramento Bee* editors with whom he earlier had exchanged sharp criticisms, Roberti nevertheless indicated that what might seem rhetorical overkill is sadly inevitable in appeals to voters who are interested only in a single issue.

"Direct mail is becoming the fund raiser of the future," he said. "It's sort of a downer, because you have to appeal to a one-issue constituency in apocalyptic language. The less apocalyptic your language, the less money you raise."

Getting organ zed

Roberti's experience with his "money talks" fund-raising letter — however inexpertly composed it was and despite what proved to be many wrong addresses on its mailing list — supports this view. After sending out 20,000 letters, Roberti got a response of 4 percent, nearly 800 letters with contributions.

"For a test mailing, that's a smashing success," says Lewis. "We would have been satisfied with a 1 percent return. Donations ranged from literally pennies — five cents Scotch-taped onto cardboard — to $150. We spent about $7,000 and collected about $10,500. We think we have something. I'm convinced we have a winner."

Roberti and ROAR-PAC are moving ahead at full steam. Members already have been appointed to an advisory board which is heavily laced with names from the entertainment industry and, more important, to a board of directors which will set the PAC's policies and decides which candidates are given its money. Serving on that board is Shirley Wechsler, a political associate of Roberti's and a veteran figure in Americans for Democratic Action; David Nagler, a partner in Jonathan Lewis Associates and executive vice president of ROAR; actress Gretchen Wyler, and two attorneys, Allan Browne of Los Angeles and Duane Garrett of San Francisco.

Among those on the advisory board are Democratic Congressman Tom Lantos, Gladys Sargent, and such actors and actresses as Steve Kanaly, Loretta Swit, Sally Struthers, Margaret O'Brien, Tippi Hedren, Rhonda Fleming and Richard Basehart. Still another advisory board member: farm union leader Cesar Chavez.

Roberti personally won't be on either board, a step to avoid making ROAR-PAC appear to be simply another arm of the upper house's Democratic Caucus. His absence from the board of directors also would save him the embarrassment of having to vote to support Republicans, such as state Senator William Craven of Oceanside, who are strong voices in favor of animal protection measures. With Wechsler as a director, however, Roberti will have strong representation.

A follow-up mailing to a more carefully culled list of sympathizers is next in the works for ROAR-PAC. "We will identify and pursue aggressively people concerned about animal welfare and rights," promises Lewis. ". . . We want the largest possible membership in the shortest possible time."

The clear losers in all of this emphasis on fund-raising PACs are the major political parties. In Sacramento and elsewhere they continue on an ever-steeper decline in importance. They hardly matter any more except for the vestigial powers they enjoy through laws which require candidates to run in exclusive party primaries.

The decision by a leader of the California Legislature to turn to a single-issue constituency for support of his point of view simply is further evidence of the decay of political parties. They no longer provide the most effective means of raising money or communicating with like-minded voters. They've been replaced by computers and mailing lists. Roberti's new organization simply recognizes a political fact of life.

STATE CAPITOL OFFICES

909 12th Street

- Two Blocks from Capitol
- High Visibility — Street Signage
- Ground Floor Suites
- 1,000-13,000 sq. ft.
- $1.11 per sq. ft.
- No Rate Increase For 5 years
- Generous Tenant Improvements
- Adjacent Parking Garage
- Building Completely Renovated
- Light Rail at your Door 1985

Predovich PROPERTIES, INC.

1851 Heritage Lane, Suite 128 Sacramento, CA 95815 (916) 920-0767

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Immunity from civil suits — legislators' little-noted privilege

By DICK LEVINSON

Attorney Stephan Williams did not expect instant action when he filed suit against Assemblyman Daniel Boatwright back in 1978, but neither did he expect that 1983 would arrive without his having seen Boatwright (now a senator) in court. Granted, the wheels of justice turn slowly. What Williams has learned is that members of the Legislature have granted themselves the privilege of making them stop.

The brake is Section 595 of the Code of Civil Procedure. Based on an early constitutional provision, the code section was first enacted more than 100 years ago when the Legislature met for relatively short periods and members needed protection from civil lawsuits aimed at keeping them from their duties.

But over the years, legislative sessions have become progressively longer. Today, the Legislature meets almost continuously for two years at a time, meaning that members have an almost permanent immunity from civil actions, should they choose to use it.

Some might contend that the immunity privilege is but a hangover from the past and that modern lawmakers have never sought it for themselves. But that isn't quite so. In 1968, after a state Supreme Court decision appeared to erase the privilege, lawmakers quickly enacted a bill to overturn the court action. A co-author of the measure was an up-and-coming assemblyman of the time, Willie L. Brown Jr. of San Francisco.

No one keeps track of how often lawmakers use their privilege. But enough cases have surfaced over recent years to prove that its use is not going out of style. In addition to Boatwright, the cases have involved Senator Alan Robbins, Assemblyman Terry Goggin and the now-Assembly Speaker Brown. In Brown's case, he did not use the privilege to delay a lawsuit against himself. An attorney, Brown used it to keep a client out of court by contending that he (Brown) could not be forced into court to defend his client while the Legislature is in session.

Among those who call the privilege "unfair" is Republican Senator Ed Davis of Chatsworth. He says he decided to introduce a bill to change the provision after hearing complaints from an attorney who is not a member of the Legislature. "This was an adamant fellow who just thought it's terrible and a misuse of authority for someone to make a living as a lawyer concurrently to making a living as a legislator, and then using that privilege (legislative immunity) to benefit himself financially and totally disadvantage the other parties in a lawsuit," Davis says.

The former Los Angeles police chief's bill would, he says, make the immunity privilege "discretionary" by allowing judges to decide whether a legislator's request for delay can stop a civil proceeding. Davis concedes that his bill raises a fundamental issue: "Can we vest the judiciary with the power of taking someone out of the Legislature and forcing him into court?" he asks. For him, the answer should be "yes" because the risk of giving judges too much power is overridden by removing from what Davis calls "deadbeat" legislators the ability to wear down opponents through interminable court delays.

Dick Levinson is producer of the public television series on state government, "California Week in Review."

How it works

In effect, the code section grants lawmakers immunity from most forms of civil action during the full term of each session, even though the session may be in a temporary recess. During most of the year, for instance, lawmakers meet for only four days a week at the Capitol and then recess for a three-day weekend. "If I were a lawyer, I could be in court every Friday," Davis notes. During the summer, lawmakers often recess for a month, but the code section says that a recess must be more than 40 days in length before the immunity privilege is lost.

According to Davis, the provisions of the code section, when combined with the Legislature's current two-year meeting schedule, grant immunity at all times except for the months of October and November. However, he says, the Legislature has had special sessions during those months in recent years, which means that the immunity remained in effect even during those two-month periods. Also, he points out, the code section grants immunity to members of legislative committees that may be meeting (as many do) during the two months that the Legislature itself is not in session. In all, he says, the "window of opportunity" for getting a legislator into court is too small.

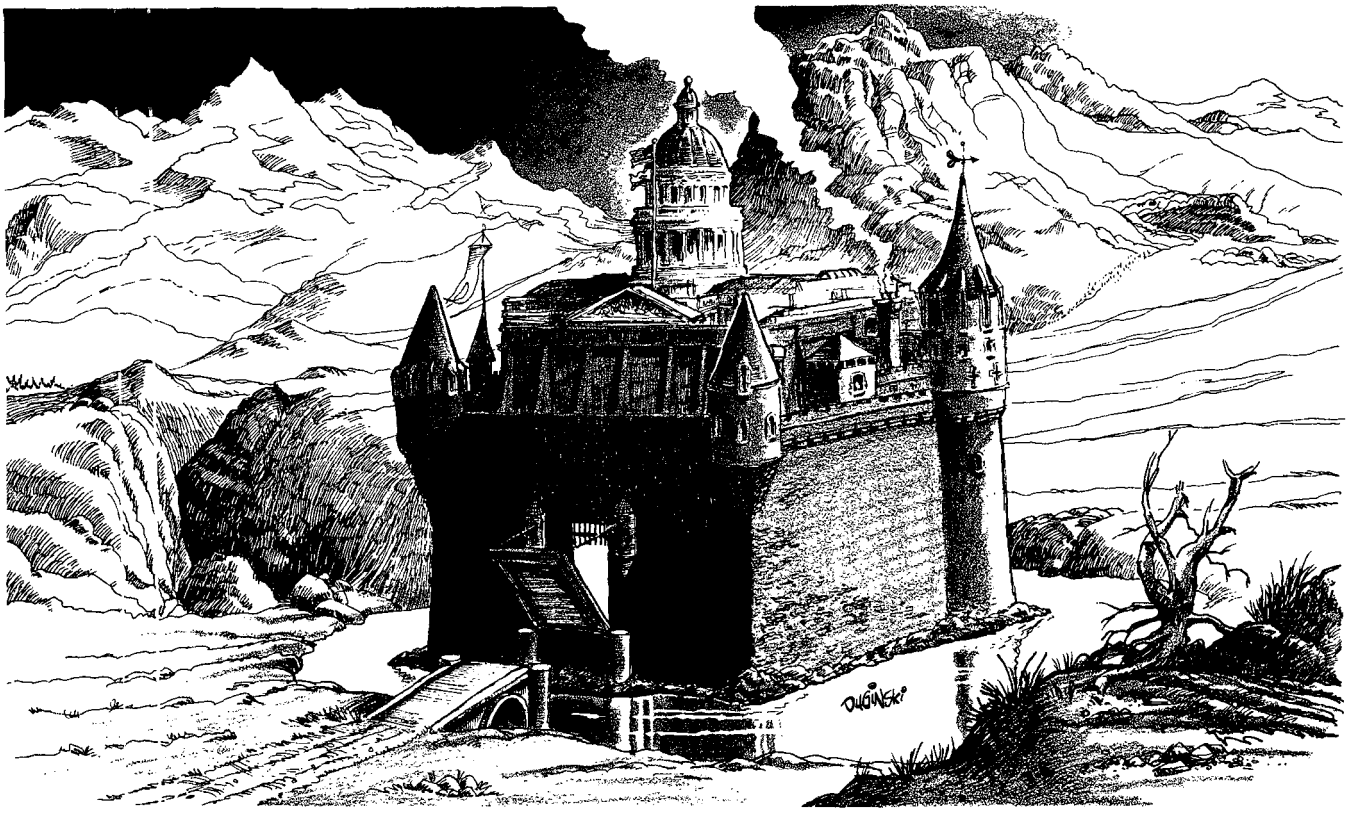
When asked about the immunity privilege, Speaker Brown called it a "good thing" but said it already gives judges power to refuse legislative requests for delay. Brown said that the law allows judges to delay court actions for a variety of reasons (illness, business obligations, appearance in another court) and that legislative service is but one of them. "If there's clearly an injustice to one of the parties, then you can't invoke it," Brown said.

But Brown's explanation does not agree with the 1968 statute that Brown himself helped enact and which remains in effect today (and which Davis is trying to change). The statute requires judges to grant legislators delays except when some immediate action is needed in a case to protect one side or another pending a final decision.

Specifically, the statute says: "Granting of a continuance pursuant to this section is mandatory unless the court determines that such continuance would defeat or abridge a right to relief *pendente lite* (pending decision) in a paternity action or a right to invoke a provisional remedy such as *pendente lite* support in a domestic relations controversy, attachment and sale of perishable goods, receivership of a failing business and temporary restraining order or preliminary injunction, and that the continuance should not be granted."

As mentioned earlier, the 1968 statute was designed to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



undercut a ruling from the state Supreme Court of a year before. According to research done by lawyer Williams (the man who has been trying for five years to get Boatwright into court), the court decision also involved Brown.

The case began as a paternity action, with the plaintiff seeking money for support and medical expenses. The defendant hired Brown as his attorney. Brown promptly requested a continuance and an extension of time based on the state's immunity provisions. The trial court felt that it had no discretion in the matter and granted Brown's application. Facing a four-month delay, the plaintiff appealed to the Supreme Court.

The court ruled, in *Thurmond v. Superior Court* [1967] that lower courts did indeed have the discretion to deny requests for postponements. In the court's view, to regard the immunity provisions as requiring a delay whenever one is requested would pose "serious constitutional questions."

The 1968 statute undercutting the decision (AB 1531) was introduced by the late Assemblyman and Los Angeles County Supervisor James Hayes. It was co-authored by Brown and former Assemblywoman Yvonne Brathwaite Burke. Since AB 1531 became law, Williams says, the courts have ignored the thrust of the *Thurmond* decision.

Saving a disco

And it was a good thing for Studio West, a San Francisco discotheque, that the courts took that view. The San Francisco police department, contending that there were too many drug deals on the premises, tried to have the place closed by having its business permits revoked. But the effort failed after Studio West retained Brown in 1980. According to news accounts, Brown used the immunity privilege to delay hearings before the San Francisco Board of Permit Appeals until late 1981.

Williams, of Walnut Creek, says that he represents a local reform group that wants to take politics out of local zoning decisions. His case against Boatwright involves allegations that Boatwright used legislative influence to help developers win zoning changes for a shopping center in Contra Costa County, all the while having a hidden interest himself in the center. Specifically, the charge is that Boatwright failed to disclose the interest as required by law. The same allegation has been investigated by the Fair Political Practices Commission and the attorney general, neither of which filed charges. Williams says that new facts will emerge when the suit is heard in court.

In any case, Williams contends that Boatwright has delayed the case at least twice and possibly three times by pleading legislative immunity. "He would be able to gain six months' time before he would be required to comply with the motion," Williams says.

Boatwright replies that he used the provision only once. He says, "When I was chairman of the (Assembly) Ways and Means Committee working on the budget, was responsible for the budget, was carrying the budget and we were over into April or May . . . he (Williams) started filing requests for depositions and this kind of stuff. We filed at that time — because it was clearly a harassing tactic — a motion asking that it be delayed until I was out of session in July. The court ruled that we could have the delay. It was only a couple of months.

"This is the only time that I have ever used it," Boatwright says. "You have to be very careful that you don't abuse the process, whether it's that process or other processes . . . I think Williams has abused the process." Both Boatwright and Williams say they are eager for their case to come to trial.

Terry Goggin's special status

Perhaps the champion practitioner in the use of legislative immunity is Democratic Assemblyman Terry Goggin of San Bernardino. Local news accounts say that he was able to postpone lawsuits by creditors against himself twice last year: once involving the Bank of Redlands which sued him for non-payment of a loan and one involving two workmen who said Goggin owed them back wages for work in 1978 on his San Bernardino house.

In both cases, the legislative-immunity use backfired because the lawsuits which were to have been heard early in the year received postponements and landed in court just

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

before the general election. He also used the claim in 1978 and 1979 in a lawsuit by a contractor who sought construction payment for Goggin's home in Davis. Goggin, like Brown, contends that legislative immunity is actually no more than the right of a lawmaker to seek the delay of a case to suit the legislative schedule. He says he's never asked more than 60 days.

Goggin's latest use of immunity came in response to his problems with the Political Reform Act. The act requires legislators to file detailed statements describing their financial holdings and sources of income with the state Fair Political Practices Commission. After buying a hotel in Nevada, Goggin applied to that state's Gaming Control Board for a license to operate a casino. It turned out that Goggin's license application contained information about financial investments that the assemblyman had never reported to the FPPC. After being so advised by Nevada officials, the commission began investigating Goggin in July 1981. The assemblyman refused to cooperate, withholding records and refusing to testify about his financial affairs. In December 1981, Goggin amended statements filed with the commission in 1977-79. But four months later, it was clear to FPPC staffers that Goggin's statements still contained numerous mistakes and omissions. Frustrated in its effort to obtain Goggin's testimony and his financial records, the commission issued a subpoena on May 11th.

If officials expected that the subpoena would produce dramatic results, they were sorely disappointed. On July 19th, Goggin's attorney, John Moulds, cited Code Section 595 and claimed that the assemblyman was entitled to a mandatory continuance. In August, Moulds again referred to Goggin's special status as a legislator in explaining why his client could not comply with the FPPC's repeated requests for information.

On September 2nd the commission went to court seeking an order that would force Goggin to honor the subpoena. One of the legal documents submitted to the court by the FPPC included the following statement by staff attorney Roger Brown:

"The current legislative session went into final recess on adjournment on August 31st, 1982. The new legislative session is scheduled to convene December 6th, 1982. Should Code of Civil Procedures Section 595 apply, there is very little time available between legislative sessions in which to accomplish the investigative and procedural steps required to bring this matter to a conclusion before the next two-year session of the Legislature convenes."

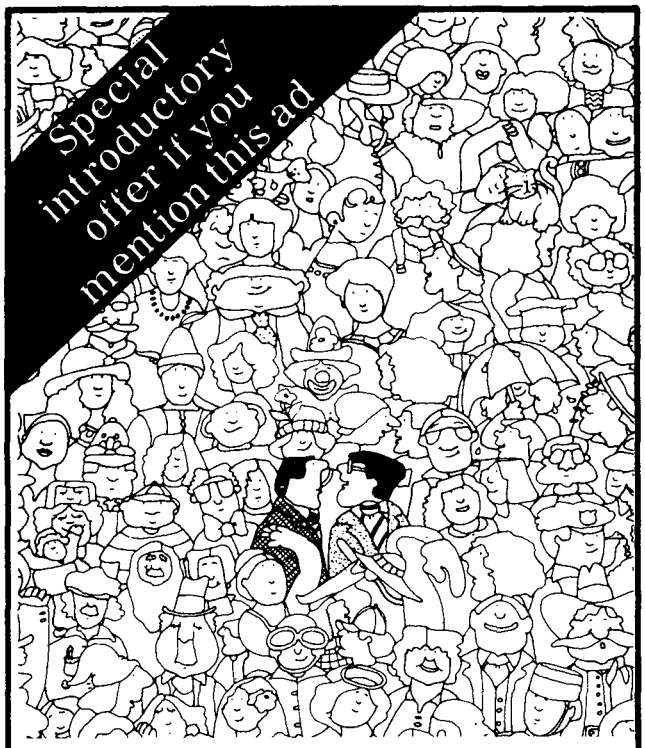
On September 22nd, Assemblyman Goggin announced that he was ready to cooperate with the commission. Goggin was re-elected in November by a slim margin of 2,548 votes. He has declined to discuss the continuing FPPC investigation or his response to it.

Alan Robbins' delay

Legislative immunity has also been used by Democratic Senator Alan Robbins. In 1972, a Hollywood producer named Don Kranze invested $25,500 in an apartment project that Robbins — then a real estate developer — was planning to build in Westwood. However, when the project was slow to materialize, Kranze decided that he wanted his money back. In 1973, Kranze and Robbins signed a contract stating that Robbins would buy back Kranze's units at cost. Robbins was given 15 months in which to make the payment. When the money had not been received two days after the deadline, Kranze decided to sue. However, between the time that Kranze invested his money and the time that his suit came up in court, Robbins had become a state senator.

On April 2nd, 1975, Robbins' lawyer, Marvin Kay, appeared before Superior Court Judge Christian Markey Jr. to invoke the immunity clause of the state constitution on the senator's behalf. Judge Markey expressed grave doubts about the validity of this course, but agreed to give Kay 10 days to file additional briefs. However, those briefs were never filed, possibly because reporter Kenneth Reich of the *Los Angeles Times* wrote on April 8th, 1975: "When Robbins learned that the *Times* was working on a story about the case, he began backing away from claiming the exemption, saying that he would appear in court during a summer recess." The case was settled out of court.

Asked whether he had invoked immunity during his dispute with Kranze, Robbins says that he may have done so once. He says that a delay was necessary because he was involved in budget deliberations at the time. "If I remember correctly, we asked for a 60-day delay, but that would be no different than if somebody was in the business of growing avocados, and somebody who wanted to sue that person tried to maneuver something to have (a) hearing at the peak of the harvesting season — and the person who was growing avocados asked the court for a 60-day delay so that he wouldn't have to be in Los Angeles, in court, when he needed to be in Tulare harvesting avocados."



*"Well, my newspaper's **The Daily Recorder**, and **The Daily Recorder** says. . ."*

Publishers DAILY of:
- **State regulation hearing notices**
- **Digests of all new/amended legislation**
- **Attorney General opinions, full text/indexed**
- **Board of Equalization opinions, full text/indexed**
- **Cal-OSHA opinions, full text/indexed**

Subscribe for just $10 for three months
(save 50 % off the regular price)

The Daily Recorder
To subscribe, call (916) 444-2355
-or write-
The Daily Recorder, 1115 H Street, Sacramento, CA 95814

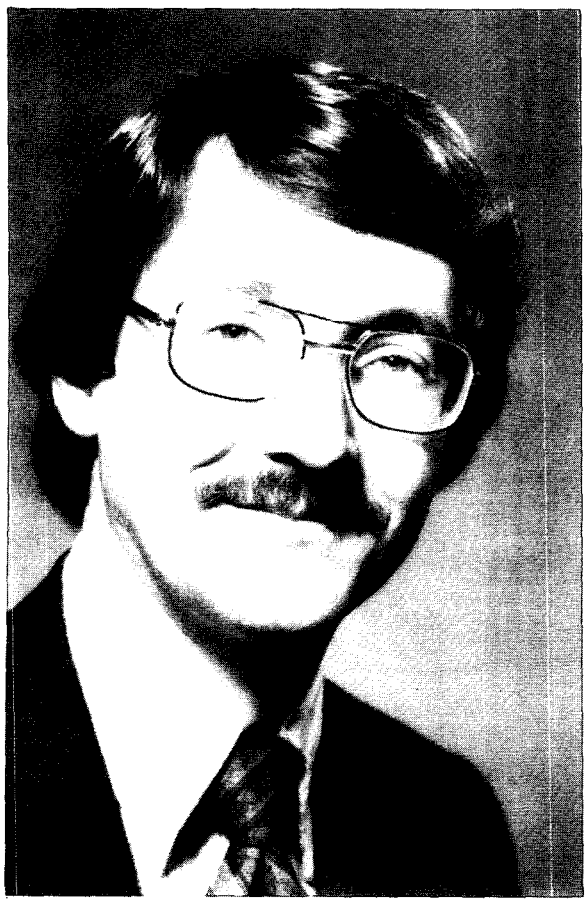
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bob Naylor's on-the-job training as Assembly Republican leader

By VIC POLLARD

When Assembly Republican leader Robert Naylor turned 39 recently, his staff director, Tom Day, gave him a mug inscribed, "No more Mr. Nice Guy."

It was a fitting reminder of the new role in which Naylor — known for his unfailingly pleasant temperament — finds himself with the election of Republican George Deukmejian as governor. Although the GOP is still on the short end of a 48-32 partisan split in the Assembly, Naylor heads a legislative delegation that is playing a major role in budget negotiations for the first time in eight years.



The minority Republicans have long been able to block the budget and other major spending bills by voting as a unit and preventing the necessary two-thirds majorities. Only rarely were they able to use the power to force significant concessions, however, because Democratic legislative leaders and Governor Jerry Brown could peel off enough GOP votes to push most bills through. But a Republican in the governor's office creates a whole new climate, and Naylor and the rest of the Assembly Republicans are relishing every minute of it.

The changed circumstances have focused new attention on the Assembly Republican Caucus and Naylor's function as its leader, a post he has held for more than a year despite the fact that he is only beginning his third two-year term in the Legislature. The Redwood City lawmaker does, in fact, come across as one of the nicest people you're likely to meet, even though there is disagreement about how deeply the trait runs. Some of the conservative firebrands in the GOP caucus say he can be too nice for his own good. His arch-enemy, Assembly Rules Committee Chairman Lou Papan, says he uses his nice-guy image to conceal his role as a partisan hatchet man.

Naylor is well aware of the concern within his own caucus, and he has taken some steps this year to toughen his image. At one point, he suggested that Deukmejian "play hardball" in budget negotiations with legislative Democrats by holding their pet projects hostage. He also has pointedly told some lobbying groups with histories of heavy contributions to Democratic candidates that it might be in their best interests to pay more attention to GOP fund-raising appeals in the future.

Nevertheless, Naylor's low-key demeanor is at the heart of the question that leaves many observers puzzled about the minority caucus. If an outsider were to try to pick a leader for the group, Naylor probably would be the least likely candidate.

The caucus often seems to be dominated by its hard core of a dozen or so "Proposition 13 babies," the ultra-conservatives swept into office on the crest of the property tax revolt in 1978. They are charge-the-barricades ideologues who appear to be happiest when they are provoking their Democratic colleagues into a rage with such tactics as blocking a legislative pay raise or mounting a successful referendum campaign against last year's Democratic-drawn reapportionment plans.

The consternation is not limited to Democrats, however. Tension regularly arises between the Assembly Republicans and their counterparts in the Senate. GOP members of the upper house made no secret of their anger at the loss of last year's pay raise plan. In addition, Senate Republicans were ready last December to agree on a compromise package of spending cuts and tax increases to solve the state budget deficit, only to see it blocked by solid opposition to any new taxes by the Assembly GOP contingent.

Naylor is a member of the 1978 class himself but, outwardly at least, the similarity to the hard-liners who often set the tone for the caucus ends there. His even-tempered good manners and his Yale Law School background set him in stark contrast to most of his classmates, who came primarily out of business or legislative staff positions. If only by comparison, Naylor strikes most people as a moderate, although it is not a label that he accepts.

The question keeps coming up: Is Naylor leading the caucus or is it pushing him? Naylor himself says the secret

Vic Pollard, a Capitol reporter for Gannett News Service, is a frequent contributor to the Journal.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of staying in front of the volatile group is creating an atmosphere in which all factions at least have a chance to be heard before a leadership decision is made on the strategy for a particular issue.

"We have a wide spectrum of views on how to proceed on any given legislative issue," he says carefully. "Yes, there are some people who feel strongly that we should, to use a phrase we use often, draw the line in the dirt. And in some cases that is exactly what we should do. The caucus is not unified on what the appropriate tactic should be, and we sometimes have to spend some time working it out."

He insists that the firebrands do not hold sway over the better judgment of himself or that of the more moderate members. He noted that the leadership group of caucus offices and whips is a balanced group ranging from hard-liners Richard Mountjoy and Pat Nolan to the more moderate William Baker and Marian Bergeson.

In fact, it may have a slightly less conservative cast now than it did last year. In a move to consolidate his position after the 1982 elections, Naylor removed Don Sebastiani, one of the most outspoken hard-liners, as caucus secretary and replaced him with freshman Sunny Mojonnier.

Nevertheless, it is clear that there are still heated debates over strategy and tactics. "It's not easy, but it works," says William Leonard, a member of the inner circle who serves as the caucus' chief budget spokesman in his role as vice chairman of the Assembly Ways and Means Committee. But there is general agreement that Naylor's position is secure and there is no incipient move to oust him. "The so-called hard core are among his key supporters when he calls on them for advice and support," says Leonard.

Leonard also says Naylor is not averse to using the firebrands as weapons. "In legislative politics," he explains, "somebody can stake out a position that makes the leader look like a moderate and then he can go to the other side and say, 'I've got problems with my hard core and if you don't do it my way, they'll be let loose.' He's been very effective at that."

From the hard-core camp, Naylor gets high praise from Nolan, one of several who supported Ross Johnson in a minor challenge to Naylor's initial election in January 1982. "The one fault I see," Nolan says, "and it's not really a fault, is that he's too nice a guy and people try to take advantage of him. He goes out of his way to accommodate people. He does it out of sensitivity, not weakness, but he lets people push him too far."

Harsher judgments

Democrats have harsher judgments, with the exception of Assembly Speaker Willie Brown. Despite their frequent clashes, Brown has nothing bad to say about Naylor, publicly at least. "I think he's a good minority leader," Brown says. "He advocates effectively for his members and they have a sense of loyalty to him. He's trying to build a unified caucus and that's admirable." Is Naylor in control of the caucus? "Obviously he is," Brown says. "If he weren't, he wouldn't be in that position."

At the other extreme, "treacherous" is a word used to describe Naylor by Papan, who still sputters with outrage at the GOP caucus vote which ousted the most senior Republican, Bill Lancaster, from the Rules Committee this year. (Lancaster was criticized within the caucus for being "too close" to Papan).

Naylor "is not a confrontational kind of a guy," Papan concedes, "but he's no leader . . . He's got some bomb-throwers in that caucus, and he doesn't know what to do with them."

Other senior Democrats voice personal respect for Naylor, but they don't give him high marks for his leadership ability. "He is a very bright, conscientious, friendly and skilled legislator who may have risen prematurely to a position of leadership," says Art Agnos. Because of the rapid turnover in the Assembly Republican ranks since 1976, Agnos says Naylor rose to the top "without the usual amount of time to acquire political seasoning before he was elected, and he's had to acquire it on the job."

Within the caucus, he says he is something of a gap-bridger between the hard-liners and the moderates. "But I share the necessity, as the minority party, of taking a hard line in order to accomplish anything." The central philosophy that drives the entire caucus, he says, is a firm belief that the current budget deficit provides the GOP with its best chance ever to use the limited power of its minority status to effect significant reductions in the size of government and its impact on the public. "There's a spine-stiffening effect when your back is to the wall," he says.

Nevertheless, as a man who campaigned for the minority leader position on a platform of unifying the caucus, Naylor concedes there are still some gaps to bridge. "There's a bit of a generation gap," Naylor says. "Most of our people came in with the idea of fighting hard and accomplishing something quick . . . part of the unhappiness, or the tension, between a Bill Lancaster and a Pat Nolan is a matter of (the fact that) Pat came up here to rattle the cage, and Bill has been here a while and he's more of a go-along-to-get-along kind of guy. It remains to be seen which is more effective in getting things done, but it's a difference in style, not in philosophy."

On the fast track

Naylor does not use the term "career politician" pejoratively because it is clear that he is on the political fast track himself. The grandson of Irish immigrants and the son of a real estate broker, Naylor displayed an early interest and talent in politics. In high school in his parents' home town of Las Vegas, Naylor won a Nevada-Arizona debate championship. "I loved debating public policy issues," he says. He plunged into the Young Republicans at Stanford, where he graduated in 1966 and went on to Yale Law. After three years in the army, which included a tour as a lieutenant in Vietnam, he returned to his old Stanford neighborhood of San Mateo County and joined the prestigious San Francisco law firm of Pillsbury, Madison and Sutro.

Along the way, he married and became the father of two daughters, but he also became heavily involved in local politics, rising to the county GOP chairmanship. Then when the local assemblyman, Dixon Arnett, left the Legislature, Naylor jumped at the chance and won a narrow victory for the open seat.

If much of Naylor's life seems to be taken from the Preppy Handbook, he also shows traits of the New Sensitive Male. His decision to change careers was a family matter, according to his wife, Kay — so much so that he sat down and wrote her a formal memo, spelling out how much time he would devote to his family. "I decided the first memo was unacceptable," she recalls. "It left too little time for us. He rethought it." Naylor wrote another memo when he was elected minority leader and says he has been able to stick to it "mostly."

And he may have to write more such memos in the future if his rapid political rise continues. If things work out, he says, after a few years he would like to "move on to a statewide office," although he doesn't specify which one.

But for now, his new clout in the Assembly is enough of a step up the ladder. "In the first three weeks of the Deukmejian Administration," he says, "I spent more time in the governor's office than I did in the last four years of the Jerry Brown Administration. "That's much more satisfying."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

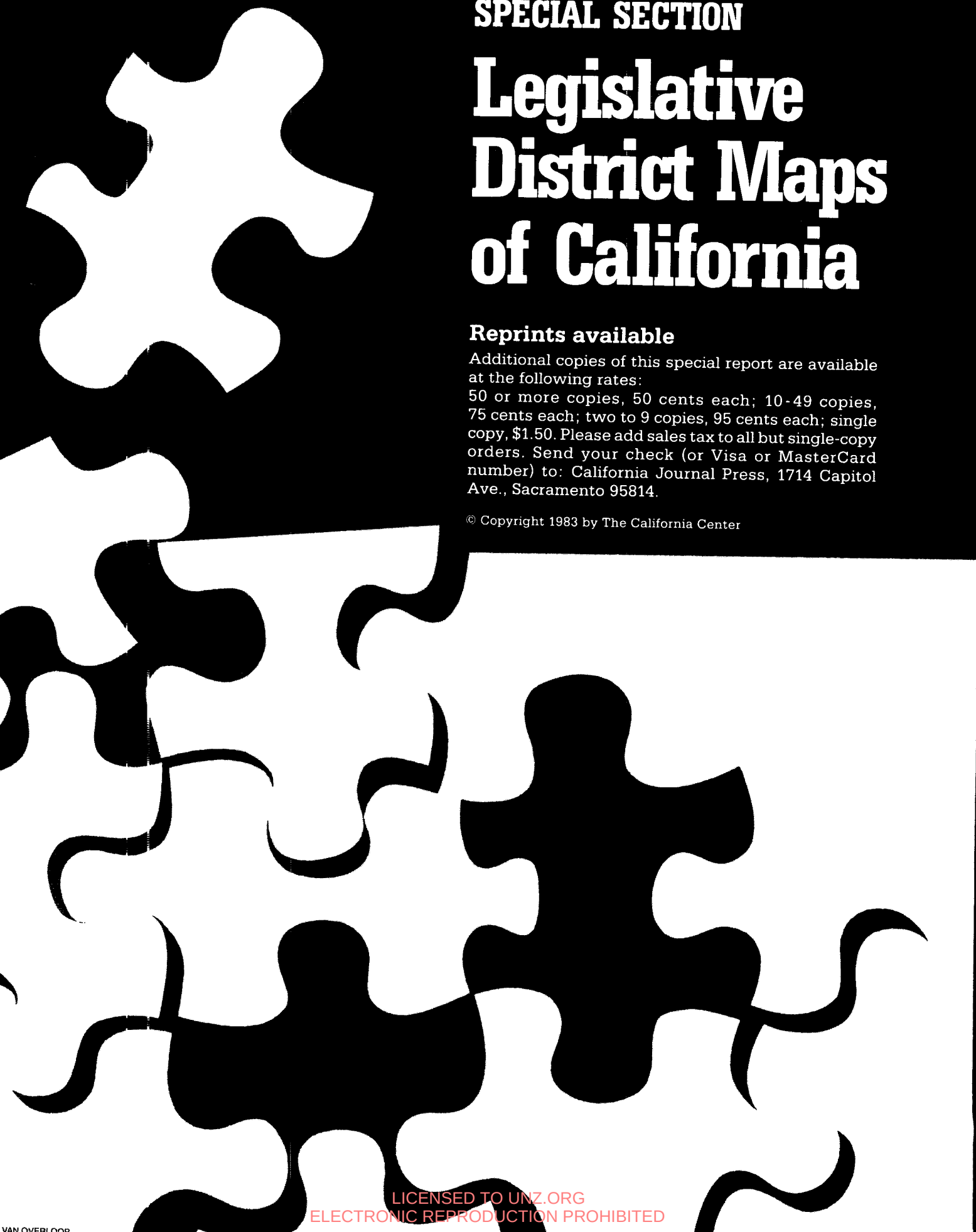
SPECIAL SECTION

Legislative District Maps of California

Reprints available

Additional copies of this special report are available at the following rates:
50 or more copies, 50 cents each; 10-49 copies, 75 cents each; two to 9 copies, 95 cents each; single copy, $1.50. Please add sales tax to all but single-copy orders. Send your check (or Visa or MasterCard number) to: California Journal Press, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento 95814.

© Copyright 1983 by The California Center



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VAN OVERLOOP

Final reapportionment maps (maybe)

After a year of battling in courts, ballot boxes and among themselves, California lawmakers have produced their second version of reapportionment for the 1980s. Because the first version was rejected by voters last June, the new one has to look different, and it does. All sorts of congressional and district boundaries have been changed. But the spirit of Reapportionment I remains in the latest version: to help the Democratic majority by protecting it from potential Republican gains. To do so, both plans concentrate as many Republican voters as possible in a relative handful of legislative and congressional districts while spreading the Democratic strength around.

Many Republican leaders, who fought successfully against Reapportionment I, seem willing now to let the issue die. Having been elected themselves last November under the lines of Reapportionment I, and having been protected by the latest version, they see no reason to fight another long and costly battle for change. Bucking the trend is GOP Assemblyman Don Sebastiani of Sonoma, who wants to nullify the new version and place a third reapportionment plan before voters.

Sebastiani, of the wine-making family, says his plan is more fair and better for the public because it would protect communities of interest, generally by being more respectful of city and county boundaries than the other two. At the moment, Sebastiani is raising money for a signature-gathering campaign, which, he says, could cost about $1 million. If all goes as planned, he says, he will have the required signatures, about 400,000, by June.

Even if he gets the signatures, Sebastiani is hardly out of the woods. He'll need millions of dollars for an election campaign, but more importantly he'll need Governor George Deukmejian to call a special election later this year so that the new district lines can be in place before preparations must begin for the elections of 1984.

Sebastiani hopes Deukmejian will make the call for November 8th, 1983, to coincide with municipal elections around the state. But Deukmejian, fighting to hold down state costs, is not enthusiastic about an election that would cost about $20 million and would open him to charges of spending the sum to secure a political advantage for the GOP.

The most controversial part of the initial Democratic reapportionment was its recarving of the state's 45 congressional districts. Called an "outrageous gerrymander" by Republicans, it enabled Democrats to pick up six seats in last November's elections, a gain that represented nearly a quarter of the total gain that the party registered across the nation. To the degree that those gains forced President Reagan to change course on defense spending and other issues, California reapportionment has influenced the country.

The long reapportionment trail...

A calendar of confusion and controversy

September 15th, 1981 — Democratic majorities in the Senate and Assembly ram through three redistricting bills, one each for Senate, Assembly and congressional districts. In response to Republican protests, Democrats say that Republican-controlled legislatures in other states are behaving no less politically. The constitution requires reapportionment of the State Board of Equalization after each federal census, but lawmakers cannot agree on new districts and fail to pass a bill.

September 22nd, 1981 — President Reagan becomes the first California voter to sign a Republican-sponsored ballot petition to overturn the bills. If the signature drive is successful, voters in the June 8th primary election will be asked to approve or disapprove each bill. Meanwhile, Democrats file suit to block the referenda.

December 15th, 1981 — Secretary of State March Fong Eu announces that the Republican referenda have qualified for the June ballot. Needing signatures from 346,119 registered voters for each bill, the GOP, largely through a direct-mail campaign, collects over 900,000 for each.

January 28th, 1982 — State Supreme Court allows Republican referenda to appear on June 8th ballot, but hands Democrats a major victory by requiring that primary and general elections in 1982 be held on the new district lines. Republicans had hoped that the court would keep a moratorium on the bills, thus requiring that the elections be held on previous lines, which would give Republicans a better chance to pick up more seats. Because of federal laws, the court was unanimous in requiring the new congressional lines, but split 4-3 on Senate and Assembly.

February 2nd, 1982 — The State Republican Party and the public interest lobbying group, Common Cause, formally open an initiative campaign to create a 10-member commission to handle reapportionment in the future.

June 8th, 1982 — Voters reject the three reapportionment bills. Republicans, Common Cause and nearly everyone else looks forward to voter approval of a new reapportionment commission in November.

June 21st, 1982 — Secretary of State March Fong Eu announces that the reapportionment commission initiative sponsored by Republicans and Common Cause has qualified for November 2nd ballot. Needing signatures from 553,790 registered voters, the two groups have gathered nearly 700,000.

November 2nd, 1982 — Voters reject the proposed new commission. Republicans and Common Cause blame defeat on overconfidence and insufficient advertising.

December 6th, 1982 — The 1983-84 Legislature convenes with lame-duck Governor Brown still in office. With new reapportionment bills required because of June referenda, Democrats rush to complete new package before January 3rd, 1983, when Republican Governor George Deukmejian takes charge.

January 2nd, 1983 — Brown signs two reapportionment bills into law — one for Congress and State Board of Equalization, the other for Senate and Assembly.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Congress:
A Burton-Berman production

This is another Phil Burton-Michael Berman reapportionment production, guaranteed to make stars of Democrats and keep Republicans in their place. If all goes as planned by Congressman Burton and campaign consultant Berman (brother of Los Angeles Congressman Howard), Democrats will at least hold the 28-17 edge they gained last November in the California delegation.

Democrats made the gains (six seats) largely because of the reapportionment job that Burton and Berman did on the Republicans in 1981. Thus, in their latest effort, Burton and Berman seek not only to preserve Democratic gains but to redraw enough boundaries so that they cannot be accused of enacting the 1981 plan again.

Although many Republicans have made their peace with Democrats over the Senate and Assembly reapportionments, the congressional redistricting continues to rankle. The argument is that GOP congressional candidates got 47.4 percent of last November's vote but only 37.8 percent of the congressional seats. This, Republicans say, deprives GOP voters of their rightful representation.

Democrats reply that men and women are elected to represent total populations, not just voters. For instance, they say, if only voters were counted, districts with large numbers of young families, with many children, would be short-changed because they would have fewer voters. Thus, as long as populations are equivalent, the reapportionment is fair, even though it may not be pleasing to all involved.

Following is a district-by-district rundown with estimated party registrations:

District 1 (54%D-32%R) — Del Norte, Humboldt and Mendocino counties, and most of Lake County (all but southeastern corner), the southern portion of Napa (half of Yountville and most of the city of Napa), and most of Sonoma County (Santa Rosa, Sebastopol and Healdsburg). The district, taken from Republican incumbent Don Clausen in 1982, has been strengthened for his Democratic successor, former Assemblyman Doug Bosco, largely by removing Democratically weak Glenn and Trinity counties. In exchange, Bosco gets more Democratic sections of Lake and Napa counties. Bosco looks secure for '84.

District 2 (49%D-38%R) — Butte, Colusa, Sutter, Tehama, Yuba, Shasta, Glenn, Trinity and Siskiyou counties, with parts of Lake (eastern corridor to connect nothern Napa County with the rest of the district), Napa (other half of Yountville, St. Helena, Calistoga) and western Nevada (including North San Juan, site of Jerry Brown's ranch) counties. Veteran Republican Gene Chappie, far from his old home in the foothills east of Sacramento, won with 58 percent of the vote here in 1982, but thought he should have done a little better. The new lines, giving him Glenn, Trinity and Siskiyou counties, should help him a bit. Given his open, plain-folks manner, he should have no trouble in this mountain and farming area.

District 3 (58%D-31%R) — Most of urban Sacramento, except for much of the area north of the American River. Democrat Bob Matsui won with 90 percent of the vote in 1982 and there's no reason to think that much will change.

District 4 (57%D-30%R) — Yolo County, most of Solano County (except Vallejo), and a large piece of Sacramento County (Folsom, Galt, Isleton, North Highlands, Citrus Heights). Incumbent Vic Fazio is one of the Democrats' most accomplished politicians, but he keeps carrying pay raise bills for members of Congress. Although pay raises for politicians is not an especially popular cause, no matter how much deserved, Fazio won with 64 percent of the vote last time and should survive.

District 5 (64%D-20%R) — All but the northwest corner of San Francisco. Democrat Phil Burton gave up some solid Democratic territory in 1981 to help brother John in the 1982 election. But John resigned from Congress beforehand, and Phil wound up being challenged by Republican Senator Milton Marks. Burton beat Marks after a tough fight and is now taking back the southeastern part of the city, including the black area around Hunters Point. Solid again.

District 6 (55%D-27%R) — Marin County, plus the northwestern corner of San Francisco, part of Sonoma County (Petaluma, Cotati and the city of Sonoma) and part of Solano County (most of the city of Vallejo). This is the water-connected gerrymander that Phil Burton concocted for brother John; it was won last year by former Marin County Supervisor Barbara Boxer. The new version no longer descends into San Mateo to pick up blue-collar Daly City but gives Democrat Boxer a piece of southern Sonoma instead. Boxer, who won with 52 percent of the vote, loses some Democratic registration. But she's a good campaigner and, with two years to work the district, she should be okay.

District 7 (57%D-31%R) — Most of Contra Costa County except El Cerrito and the Lafayette-Moraga area. Democrat George Miller is considered invulnerable.

District 8 (61%D-25%R) — The Berkeley-Oakland area, plus the El Cerrito and Lafayette-Moraga areas of Contra Costa County. Democrat Ron Dellums retains his solid Democratic district with a heavy black population. But the good Republican showing against him in 1982 (44 percent) could prompt a primary challenge in 1984.

District 9 (60%D-28%R) — Part of Oakland, San Leandro, Hayward and the Livermore-Pleasanton area, all in Alameda County. Democrat Fortney (Pete) Stark is a liberal whose district may be a little less so. But he did his homework, beat down a Republican challenge in 1982 and looks stronger now than before.

District 10 (62%D-24%R) — The Union City-Newark-Fremont area of Alameda County, plus Milpitas and a part of San Jose in Santa Clara County. Democrat Don Edwards, re-elected to an 11th term in 1982, should have no problems.

District 11 (56%D-31%R) — Most of the cities of San Mateo County, except for affluent Hillsborough-Atherton region. Democrat Tom Lantos won a hot, expensive race in 1982 and gets some help from the new lines. He picks up blue-collar Daly City and loses marginally Democratic Palo Alto, which should be about all that he needs.

District 12 (41%D-46%R) — The affluent sections of San Mateo County (Hillsborough, Atherton, Woodside and Portola Valley), a large portion of Santa Clara County (Los Altos, Mountain View, Sunnyvale, Cupertino, Saratoga, Morgan Hill, Gilroy and a piece of San Jose) and a northeastern section of Santa Cruz County (Scott's Valley, Ben Lomond). Republican Ed Zschau won with 63 percent of the vote in 1982 in a district that was designed to put together as many Republicans as possible around the southern end of San Francisco Bay and into the Central Valley. The new lines remove the valley section (Stanislaus County) and give Zschau more of San Mateo and a piece of Santa Cruz, making it even more Republican in the process.

District 13 (53%D-33%R) — A compact Santa Clara County district encompassing a large part of San Jose, Campbell and Santa Clara. Democrat Norman Mineta, the former mayor of San Jose, normally runs ahead of registration and did it again in 1982 with 66 percent of the vote. The new lines make minimal changes.

District 14 (48%D-41%R) — Modoc, Lassen, Alpine, Amador, El Dorado, Placer, Plumas and Sierra counties, with almost all of Nevada County and part of San Joaquin (Lodi, Tracy, Manteca, Ripon, Escalon and part of the city of Stockton). Republican Norman Shumway was reapportioned out of his old base in Stockton, but won in this northeastern California district anyway in 1982. With the new lines, he drops part of Shasta and all of Siskiyou and Nevada counties and picks up more of his old territory in San Joaquin, giving him a bit more Republican registration.

District 15 (58%D-33%R) — Mariposa, Merced and Stanislaus counties and the southern and western half of Fresno County outside the city of Fresno (Selma, Fowler, Parlier, Coalinga). Democrat Tony Coelho, one of the shrewder young politicians, won here with 58 percent of the vote in 1982. The new lines drop Madera County from the district and give him all of Stanislaus, making the district a little easier to work.

LICENSED TO UNI.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

District 16 (51%D-34%R) — San Benito and Monterey counties, with most of Santa Cruz County (city of Santa Cruz, Capitola, Watsonville) and the north coast part of San Luis Obispo County (Morro Bay and San Luis Obispo). Democrat Leon Panetta, one of the delegation's more respected members, reluctantly lost a section of Santa Cruz County and gets more of San Luis Obispo County under the new lines. The change pulls him further south from his Monterey Bay area base, but his popularity in the district is great.

District 17 (54%D-36%R) — Tulare and Kings counties, a large chunk of Kern County (Delano, McFarland and a part of Bakersfield), and a part of Fresno County (Clovis and the northeastern sector of the city of Fresno). Republican Chip Pashayan survived one of the half-dozen toughest congressional races in the state in 1982 to win with 54 percent of the vote. The new lines give him more of Bakersfield and the mountain areas of Fresno County, but the district remains much the same: nominally Democratic but with little party loyalty. Democrats may never give up on this seat.

District 18 (62%D-29%R) — Calaveras, Mono, Madera and Tuolumne counties, the heart of the city of Fresno and the city of Sanger in Fresno County, plus the southern portion of San Joaquin County (most of Stockton). This district was made to order for former Assemblyman Rick Lehman of Fresno, who won easily in 1982 with 60 percent of the vote. The new lines give him Madera County, subtract parts of San Joaquin and northern Fresno and should have little impact on his otherwise good chances.

District 19 (49%D-37%R) — Santa Barbara County, plus a major portion of Ventura County (Santa Paula, the city of Ventura and a piece of Oxnard). Republican Robert J. Lagomarsino has carried this region overwhelmingly for many years. But the voters in the Santa Barbara-Ventura area cannot be taken for granted by the GOP. Should Lagomarsino depart, the district could go Democratic and state Senator Gary Hart would be interested.

District 20 (49%D-41%R) — Inyo County, the bulk of Kern County (Bakersfield, Ridgecrest, Shafter, Taft, Tehachapi), the Lancaster-northern Antelope Valley area of Los Angeles County and most of San Luis Obispo County, except for San Luis Obispo and the Morro Bay area. With the addition of Inyo County, Republican Bill Thomas' district becomes a veritable cross section of California, stretching from the Nevada line to the ocean and including the highest (Mt. Whitney) and lowest (Death Valley) spots in the state. For Thomas, the GOP's congressional specialist on reapportionment, the district isn't bad because there's no big population base for a challenge outside his own base in Bakersfield. He won here with 68 percent in 1982.

District 21 (42%D-46%R) — The Thousand Oaks-Simi Valley area of Ventura County, with Camarillo and part of Oxnard, and a part of Los Angeles County including Sunland-Tujunga, Chatsworth, Westlake Village, Hidden Hills and Santa Catalina Island. Bobbi Fiedler won here with 72 percent of the vote and remains in tune with her solidly Republican district.

District 22 (37%D-54%R) — The Los Angeles communities of Arcadia, Glendale, La Canada-Flintridge, Monrovia, San Marino, South Pasadena, Sierra Madre and Temple City, plus parts of Pasadena and Burbank. The new lines remove the northern part of the Antelope Valley, but otherwise leave this heavily Republican district much as is for GOP incumbent Carlos Moorhead, who won here in 1982 with 73 percent of the vote.

District 23 (58%D-33%R) — Beverly Hills to Malibu and over the Santa Monica Mountains to pick up a piece of the western San Fernando Valley. Democrat Anthony Beilenson, no great friend of the Burtons and the Bermans, gets some iffy Democratic territory around Malibu, meaning that he may have to work a bit harder. But he won last time with 60 percent of the vote and shouldn't have to strain.

District 24 (60%D-28%R) — The Hollywood area. Democrat Henry Waxman is entrenched here, having won last time with 65 percent. The district itself is virtually unchanged.

District 25 (70%D-20%R) — East Los Angeles and a part of Pasadena. Democrat Ed Roybal has become an institution in this Hispanic district. He can keep the seat as long as he likes, though there are some, like Assemblyman Richard Alatorre, who are more than ready if he should decide to step down.

District 26 (59%D-31%R) — Van Nuys, Sherman Oaks, Panorama City, San Fernando and pieces of Burbank. This district was created specifically for former Assembly Democrat Howard Berman, long-time political partner of Congressman Henry Waxman. Berman won here as expected in 1982 with 60 percent of the vote and has nothing to fear in the future.

District 27 (57%D-30%R) — Santa Monica, Venice, Redondo Beach, Manhattan Beach, El Segundo, Hermosa Beach and parts of Torrance and Inglewood, and the ship populations of Long Beach and Los Angeles harbors. This district, created for former Assemblyman Mel Levine, goes to sea at Redondo Beach, sails around the Palos Verdes Peninsula, and lands at San Pedro to pick up the harbor populations. Levine, another member of the Waxman-Berman team, won with 60 percent of the vote last year and should have no problems.

District 28 (74%D-18%R) — Culver City, part of Inglewood and the Coliseum area of Los Angeles. Democrat Julian Dixon is entrenched in this seat, won with the help of the Berman-Waxman organization. Under the new lines, Dixon, who won with 79 percent of the vote, loses part of Inglewood and is balanced with territory in the north Adams area.

District 29 (84%D-10%R) — Watts, Huntington Park and part of Downey. Assemblywoman Maxine Waters would like to run here if and when incumbent Democrat Gus Hawkins, 82, retires. But the city of Downey is a little too "rednecky" for her, so about two-thirds of it was removed by the new lines. The new lines may also help her defeat Senate Democrat Bill Greene should he decide to seek the seat.

District 30 (63%D-28%R) — Alhambra, Azusa, Bell, Commerce, Cudahy, El Monte, Irwindale, Maywood, Montebello, Monterey Park, Rosemead, San Gabriel, Vernon and Bell Gardens. This district is heavily Hispanic and was the scene of last November's big effort by Republican John Rousselot to get back to Congress after being reapportioned from his old district by Burton. But Democrat Marty Martinez won with 54 percent of the vote. The new lines are much like the old.

District 31 (74%D-18%R) — Carson, Compton, Gardena, Hawthorne, Lynwood, Paramount and most of Bellflower. The new lines create a corridor through the district along the eastern edge of Bellflower so that Downey (which Maxine Waters doesn't want) may be added to the 32nd District. Former Lieutenant Governor Mervyn Dymally won here with 72 percent of the vote.

District 32 (61%D-29%R) — San Pedro, Hawaiian Gardens, Lakewood, Lomita and parts of Bellflower, Downey and Long Beach. Another former Democratic lieutenant governor, Glenn Anderson, represents this district. The new lines drop Cerritos from the district and connect the district to Downey through the Bellflower corridor. Although Downey is nominally Democratic, it doesn't always vote that way. Anderson, who won last time with 58 percent, could be hurt a bit by the change.

District 33 (46%D-45%R) — Claremont, Covina, Glendora, La Habra Heights, La Mirada, La Verne, Pomona, Walnut and Whittier. After a tough primary, Republican Dave Dreier coasted in here with 65 percent of the vote. The new lines leave things much the same.

District 34 (65%D-21%R) — Artesia, Baldwin Park, Industry, La Puente, Norwalk, Pico Rivera, Santa Fe Springs, South El Monte, West Covina. This blue-collar district should remain safe for Democrat Esteban Torres.

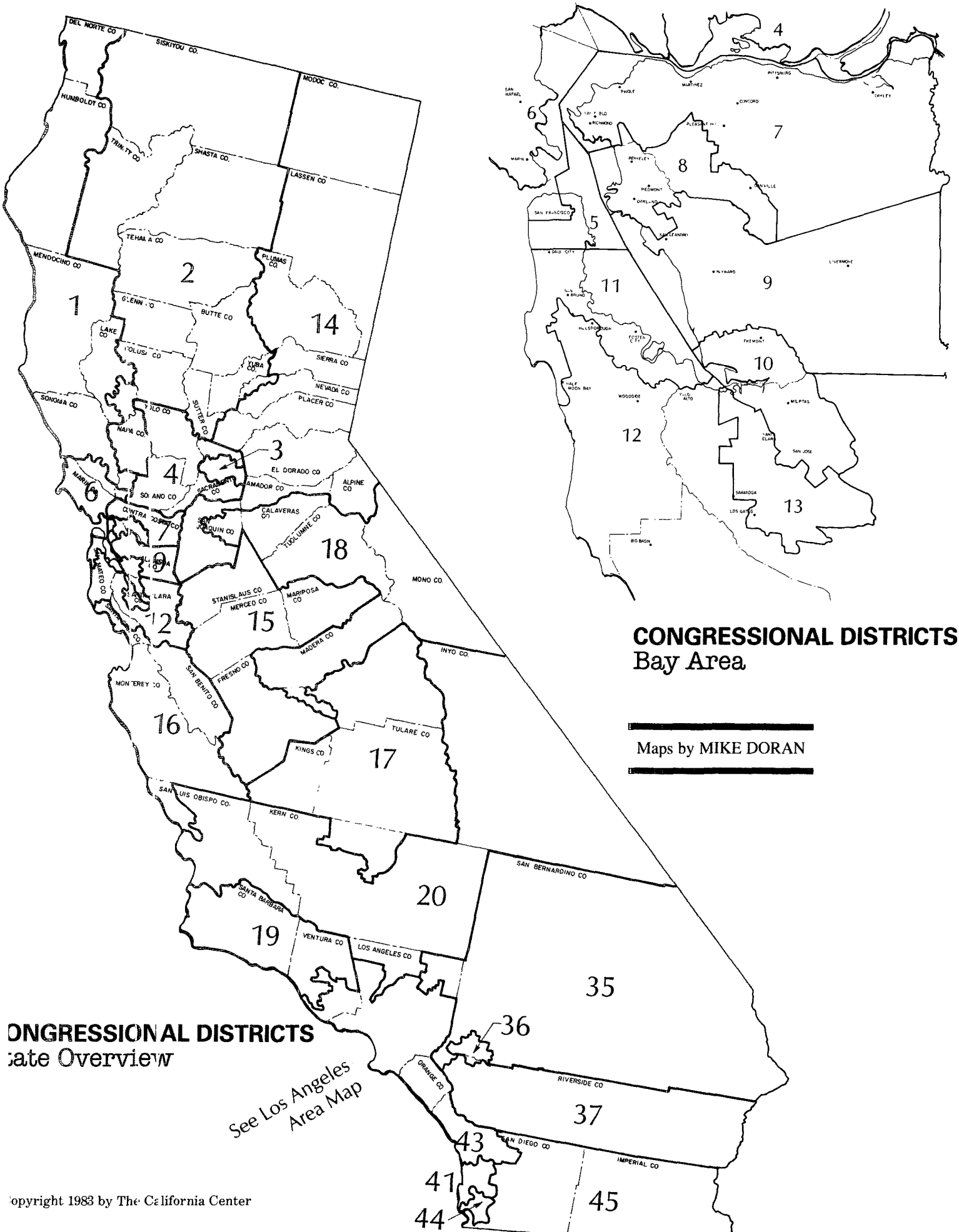
District 35 (44%D-44%R) — San Bernardino County except the cities of Colton, Ontario, Fontana, Rialto and San Bernardino, and the northeast Antelope Valley-Palmdale section of Los Angeles County. Republican Jerry Lewis won here with 68 percent of the vote. The new lines drop Inyo County, which should make no great change.

District 36 (58%D-30%R) — The Democratic portion of the city of Riverside and the cities of Colton, Ontario, Fontana, Rialto and San Bernardino in San Bernardino County. Veteran Democrat George Brown fought off a serious challenge here in 1982 to win with 54 percent of the vote. The new lines leave the district almost the same.

District 37 (47%D-43%R) — All of Riverside County except the northern precincts in the city of Riverside. The district changes little and Republican Al McCandless remains in good shape.

District 38 (55%D-33%R) — The Orange County communities of Garden Grove and Stanton and parts of Anaheim, Buena Park, Santa Ana and Westminster, plus Cerritos in Los Angeles County. The new lines pick up a piece of Los Angeles County to shore up Democrat Jerry Patterson of Santa Ana. Gone are weak Democratic areas of Cy-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS
Bay Area

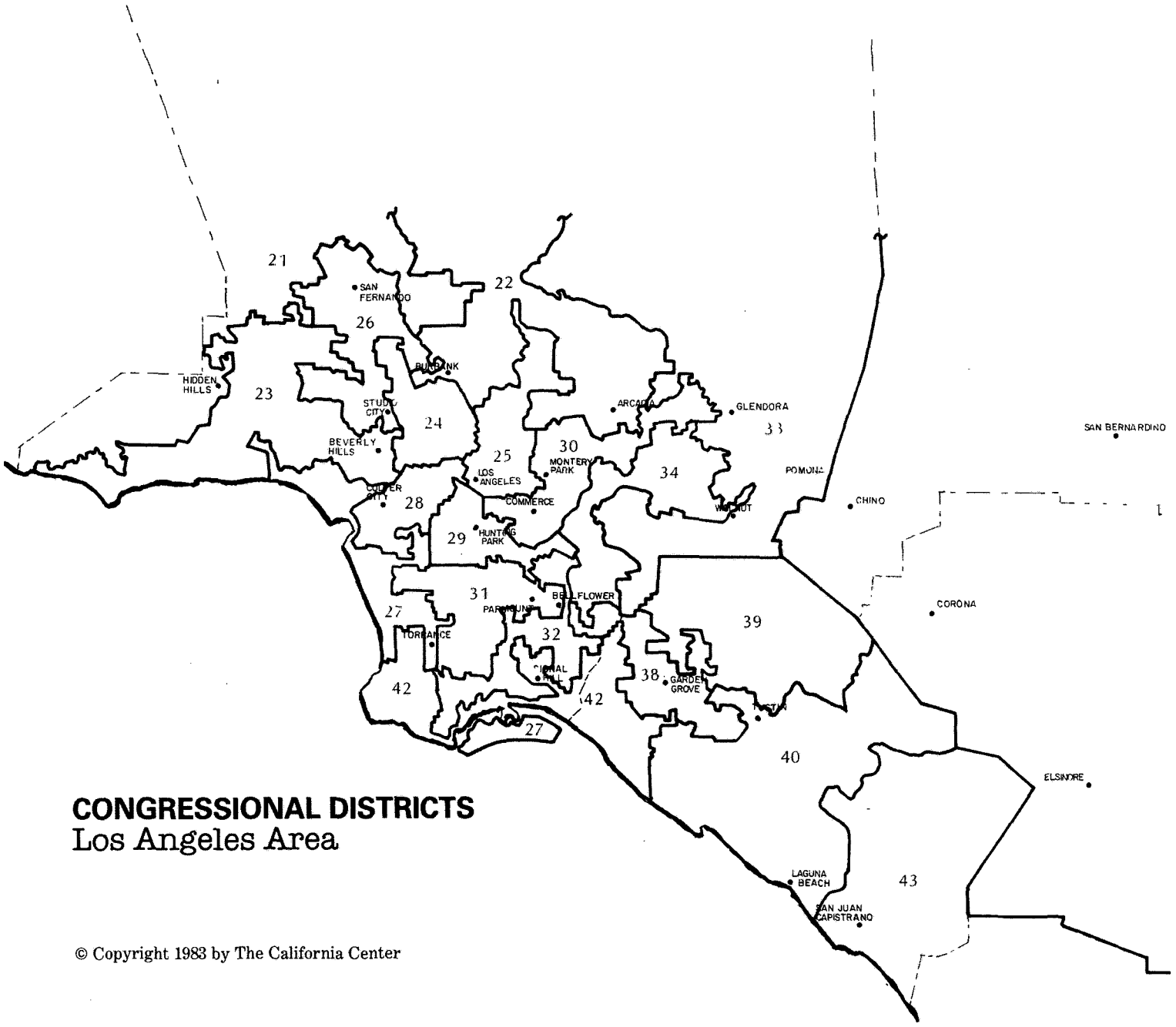
Maps by MIKE DORAN

ONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS
;ate Overview

See Los Angeles Area Map

'opyright 1983 by The California Center

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS
Los Angeles Area

© Copyright 1983 by The California Center

press and La Palma in Orange County. Patterson needs the change, having won with only 52 percent of the vote.

District 39 (40%D-49%R) — Brea, Fullerton, La Habra, Placentia, Yorba Linda and parts of Anaheim, Buena Park and Orange. Minimal changes for Republican Bill Dannemeyer, who won last time with a healthy 72 percent of the vote.

District 40 (34%D-54%R) — Costa Mesa, Fountain Valley, Irvine, Laguna Beach, Newport Beach and parts of Huntington Beach, Orange and Santa Ana. Minimal change and no problems for Republican Bob Badham, whose 1982 share was 71 percent.

District 41 (40%D-44%R) — The San Diego County communities of Del Mar, La Mesa, Santee, Point Loma, La Jolla and Clairemont. Minimal changes, too, for Republican Bill Lowery, who won last time with 69 percent.

District 42 (41%D-47%R) — This district starts in Los Angeles County at Torrance and the Palos Verdes Peninsula, then jumps to Terminal Island, skips to Long Beach, then north to Signal Hill and into Orange County to pick up La Palma, Cypress, Los Alamitos, Seal Beach and parts of Huntington Beach and Westminster. Republican Dan Lungren, with 69 percent of the vote last year, should have no trouble here.

District 43 (33%D-53%R) — Southern Orange County (El Toro, San Juan Capistrano, San Clemente) and northern San Diego County (Carlsbad, Escondido, Oceanside, San Marcos, Vista). This is the district that Republican Ron Packard won with a write-in vote after a dirty primary campaign that generated widespread anger at the winner, Johnnie Crean. The new lines make no substantial changes.

District 44 (58%D-28%R) — National City, part of Chula Vista, Lemon Grove and the heavily Democratic precincts of downtown San Diego. By adding more of Chula Vista and dropping some areas around Balboa Park and Linda Vista, the new lines make the district a bit more safe for Democrat Jim Bates.

District 45 (43%D-43%R) — Imperial County, plus the communities of Coronado, Poway, El Cajon and Imperial Beach, and parts of the city of San Diego. This district, which runs from the Pacific Ocean to the Arizona border, was created for freshman Duncan Hunter. It has a bizarre hook that cradles central San Diego and thus removes as many GOP precincts as possible from the 44th District. Republican Hunter won in 1982 with 69 percent of the vote. The new lines make small changes, dropping Point Loma and parts of Chula Vista and picking up Poway.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

State Senate:

Cozy and bipartisan

Two years ago, Senate Democrats looked at their reapportionment plan and figured that it would help them hold five shaky seats of their own and maybe pick up one belonging to a Republican. Imagine their pleasure, therefore, when they not only held all their own seats but wrested two from Republicans. As a result, they hold a 25-15 edge over the GOP today, and President pro Tem David Roberti has the proof of political potency that he needed to assure his leadership job.

But success has not made the Democrats greedy. The latest Senate reapportionment plan, like the others for Assembly and Congress, tends to protect the party's 1982 gains rather than enlarge them. Besides, if the Democrats had tried to draw more blood from the Republicans, the GOP might have responded with another referendum that could have upset things for everyone. The result is a cozy plan, reflecting a bipartisan agreement to leave things much as they are.

The biggest fight occurred within Republican ranks and involved Senator John Doolittle's effort to stay in the Legislature at the expense of Senator Ray Johnson, as explained below in the section dealing with District 1.

In all, of the 20 Senate seats up for election in 1984 (the odd-numbered districts), nine are held by Democrats, nine by Republicans and two are open. The outlook is for the open seats to go to the GOP while each of the others remains in its current party column. One of the nine Republicans is Senator Bill Richardson, who has announced plans to retire at the end of his current term. However, the seat should be safe for Republicans.

Here is a district-by-district rundown on all 40 Senate seats with approximate registrations. It was compiled largely with information from the Senate Elections and Reapportionment Committee.

District 1 (52% D-36% R) — Trinity, Siskiyou, Modoc, Lassen, Plumas, Sierra, Nevada, Yuba, Sutter, Placer, El Dorado and parts of Yolo and Sacramento counties. At the request of some Senate Republicans, major surgery was done here to convince incumbent Republican Ray Johnson, 71, that he should retire in 1984 and to give freshman Republican John Doolittle, 32, a place to run. Essentially, Johnson's Butte County base was removed from the district and portions of Sacramento County, including Doolittle's home, were added. Doolittle, who was first elected in 1980, was reapportioned out of his seat in 1981 but still has two years to serve. (In 1982 he tried and failed for the 6th District seat held now by Democrat Leroy Greene.) He has already announced that he will run in the new 1st District in 1984. Johnson, angered by the manipulations declared that he would move into the new district and oppose Doolittle. Later, however, Johnson said legislative leaders promised him a follow-up bill that would return a part of Butte County to the district, allowing him to run without moving his home. Meanwhile, there is always the possibility that either the Reagan or Deukmejian administrations will make Johnson a job offer that he can't refuse.

District 2 (56% D-29% R) — Del Norte, Humboldt, Mendocino, Solano and the coastal part of Sonoma County. This is essentially the district that re-elected Democrat Barry Keene in 1982 and should remain safe for him in the future.

District 3 (54% D-27% R) — Marin County and the northern part of San Francisco. Republican Milton Marks, who votes like a Democrat, is a San Francisco institution, though not one that was big enough to defeat Congressman Phil Burton in 1982. In 1984 Marks will be running in Marin County for the first time. Although he will be facing more Republicans than ever before, Marks should do well.

District 4 (51% D-37% R) — Shasta, Tehama, Butte, Glenn, Colusa, Lake, Napa and part of Sonoma County. Incumbent Republican Jim Nielsen won easily in 1982 and looks safe for years to come. But there will be changes. Because of the Johnson-Doolittle maneuver in District 1, Nielsen picks up Butte County while losing Trinity and Yolo. Since his home is in Yolo County, Nielsen had planned a move to Santa Rosa. But under the follow-up bill that Johnson is seeking, Nielsen would lose the eastern part of Butte County and regain northern Yolo, including his home in Woodland.

District 5 (56% D-33% R) — Alpine, Amador, Calaveras, Tuolumne, Mono, San Joaquin and part of Sacramento County outside the city of Sacramento (Rosemont, Florin, unincorporated South Sacramento, Galt, Isleton and Elk Grove) and part of Yolo County (Davis, West Sacramento, Bryte, Broderick and Clarksburg). Democratic Majority Leader John Garamendi picks up liberal Davis in Yolo County and is assured re-election unless his statewide ambitions become a major campaign issue.

District 6 (59% D-30% R) — All of the city of Sacramento and most of Sacramento County north of the American River. The district was created in 1981 to take the seat away from Republican John Doolittle. Doolittle tried for the new seat in 1982 but lost to Assembly dean Leroy Greene after one of the hottest and most expensive campaigns in the state. This should be safe territory for Democrats through the remainder of the decade.

District 7 (55% D-33% R) — Most of Contra Costa County, including Richmond, San Pablo, Concord and Walnut Creek. Incumbent Democrat Dan Boatwright gets most of what he had before and should be safe. But the district contains some of the Bay Area's fastest growing suburbs and if Boatwright should depart for higher office, this could be a tough district for Democrats to retain.

District 8 (62% D-23% R) — Southern part of San Francisco and much of San Mateo County along the coast and bay shore (Daly City, South San Francisco, Pacifica, Millbrae, Burlingame and Hillsborough). Incumbent Democrat John Foran won here in 1982 with 73 percent of the vote.

District 9 (61% D-24% R) — Most of Oakland and other Alameda County communities of Alameda, Berkeley, Emeryville, Piedmont and Albany plus the Contra Costa communities of Lafayette, Orinda, Kensington and Moraga. This district is like the one represented now by Democrat Nicholas Petris. The district is now about 36 percent black, up 7 percent from the 1981 version, increasing chances that Northern California's first black senator may come from here eventually.

District 10 (58% D-29% R) — All of Alameda County south of Oakland including San Leandro, Hayward, Pleasanton, Livermore, Union City, Newark, Fremont and Livermore. Former Assemblyman Bill Lockyer, a Democrat, won here in 1982 against a good challenge from former Republican Assemblyman Gib Marguth. Lockyer should have this district locked up for the rest of the decade.

District 11 (45% D-41% R) — Southern San Mateo County, from about San Mateo and Half Moon Bay south, and western Santa Clara County, including Palo Alto, Los Altos, Cupertino, Saratoga and Los Gatos. This is an open seat for 1984, the product of collapsing districts held by Republicans Dan O'Keefe and Marz Garcia, whose terms expired in 1982. Any decent Republican should win.

District 12 (55% D-32% R) — All of Stanislaus County and part of Santa Clara County, including Milpitas and Campbell. Former Santa Clara County Supervisor Dan McCorquodale won narrowly here in 1982 over Republican Dan O'Keefe who had been reapportioned out of much of his old district. McCorquodale has until 1986 to consolidate his gains.

District 13 (56% D-29% R) — The heart of Santa Clara County, including most of San Jose, plus Santa Clara, Sunnyvale and Mountain View. With an Hispanic population of about 23 percent, the district looks safe for Democrats, particularly if veteran Al Alquist decides to run again.

District 14 (54% D-35% R) — Merced, Mariposa, Madera and San Luis Obispo counties, plus western Fresno County, including the western portion of the city of Fresno; a piece of northern Santa Barbara County, with Santa Maria and surrounding area; and a portion of southern Monterey County, including King City and Big Sur. Republican Ken Maddy won without opposition here in 1982 and could keep winning for as long as he likes. But it's more likely that he'll run for statewide office in 1986 and that there will be a mad scramble for the seat. Former Republican Assemblywoman Carol Hallett could come back here.

District 15 (55% D-36% R) — Tulare County and eastern Fresno County includ-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing the eastern part of the City of Fresno, Clovis, Sanger and Reedley. The district is 28 percent Hispanic and often cares more about personality and character than party registration. It is safe for Democratic incumbent Rose Ann Vuich.

District 16 (57% D-33% R) — Kings and Kern counties, the Mojave Valley area of San Bernardino County, including much of Barstow, and parts of Los Angeles County, including the eastern section of the Antelope Valley and pieces of Pasadena and Altadena. The district was drawn in 1981 to protect incumbent Democrat Walter Stiern, whose base is in conservative Kern County and who needed a heavier Democratic registration. It came from the blacks of Pasadena and Altadena who for the first time since 1966, when Los Angeles County was represented by one senator, have a Democrat in the Senate representing them. The new district is much like the old and Democrats should remain in control for at least as long as Stiern remains.

District 17 (52% D-33% R) — Santa Cruz and San Benito counties, part of Monterey County (Soledad, Carmel, Monterey, Pacific Grove and Salinas), and the Gilroy-South San Jose portion of Santa Clara County. Democrat Henry Mello won his seat by a handful of votes in 1980, and these new lines should help him keep it.

District 18 (51% D-35% R) — Coastal areas of Ventura, Santa Barbara and Los Angeles counties, plus much of inland Ventura County. Includes the communities of Port Hueneme, Oxnard, Ventura, Santa Paula, Carpinteria, Santa Barbara, Lompoc, Malibu and Topanga-Woodland Hills. Democrat Gary Hart won a close one here against Republican Charles Imbrecht in 1982 and should remain secure, especially since these latest lines give him an even heavier Democratic registration. Hart also must continue to observe the district's heavy environmentalist leanings.

District 19 (45% D-45% R) — The western section of the San Fernando Valley (Hidden Hills, Chatsworth and Granada Hills) and the Newhall-West Antelope Valley region of Los Angeles County, the northern and non-coastal sections of Ventura County and most of Santa Barbara County. The district includes the Santa Ynez Valley and President Reagan's ranch in Santa Barbara County and the Simi Valley, Thousand Oaks, Camarillo and parts of Ventura in Ventura County. Republican Ed Davis has nothing to worry about here.

District 20 (61% D-29% R) — Most of the eastern San Fernando Valley north of the Ventura Freeway, including Van Nuys, Reseda, Panorama City, Mission Hills, Pacoima and San Fernando. Democrat Alan Robbins, hurt by a sex-charge trial, nevertheless overcame a Republican challenge in 1982 and looks safe for years ahead, unless challenged by a strong Democrat in the primaries.

District 21 (39% D-53% R) — A large Los Angeles County district including Arcadia, Monrovia, Duarte, Bradbury, Sierra Madre, part of Pasadena, Temple City, Glendale, San Marino, Sunland, Lancaster and Palmdale. Republican Bill Richardson once threatened to run here against incumbent Republican Newton Russell, but says now that he's going to quit the Legislature in 1984. Russell still has more to fear from the Republican primary than he does from any Democrat in the general.

District 22 (59% D-30% R) — From Santa Monica north to Sherman Oaks and from the Pacific Palisades inland to Beverly Hills. A liberal, largely Jewish district that should be safe for Democrat Herschel Rosenthal for as long as he likes.

District 23 (59% D-28% R) — All of Burbank, Hollywood, West Hollywood, Silver Lake and Universal City. Democratic Senate Leader David Roberti picked up a few more Hispanic votes by adding the Lincoln Heights area to his district, bringing the Hispanic percentage to about 30. This is Roberti territory, and no Republican will take it away.

District 24 (67% D-22% R) — The east Los Angeles area, including South Pasadena, Eagle Rock, Maywood, Commerce and Vernon. This is the 70 percent Hispanic district that Democratic Assemblyman Art Torres took from incumbent Alex Garcia in a dirty primary battle of June 1982. Torres, bright and articulate, now represents the bulk of the Hispanic population in the city of Los Angeles. He will probably be looking for new worlds to conquer before very long, unless a flap over his residency statements in recent years gets in the way.

District 25 (44% D-45% R) — Inyo County; all of the desert and mountain areas of San Bernardino County except for the Mojave Valley-Barstow area, plus Upland, Redlands, East Highlands; the eastern section of Los Angeles County, including portions of the upper San Gabriel Valley with Azusa, La Verne, Glendora, Covina and Claremont. Republican Bill Richardson was assigned to this district in 1981, but says he's quitting the Legislature at the end of this term. Republican Assemblymen Bill Leonard and Bill Lancaster could run here.

District 26 (64% D-27% R) — The Los Angeles County communities of Alhambra, San Gabriel, Monterey Park, Rosemead, Montebello, Pico Rivera, El Monte, Irwindale, Baldwin Park and La Puente. Incumbent Democrat Joe Montoya won easily in this 54 percent Hispanic district in 1982 and is talking about running for statewide office in 1986.

District 27 (84%D-9% R) — This is much of south-central Los Angeles down to Compton, but with an eastern section that includes Southgate and Huntington Park. Incumbent Democrat Bill Greene has never had any problems and none is expected this time. The district is 49 percent black and 39 percent Hispanic.

District 28 (71% D-19% R) — Southwest-central Los Angeles, Inglewood, Hawthorne, Lawndale, Venice, Marina Del Rey and the airport. The district is 47 percent black, 16 percent Hispanic and is represented by Democrat Diane Watson. The new lines bring white Lawndale into the district, and even though Watson, who is black, won last year with 75 percent of the vote, she has introduced a bill to get Lawndale out.

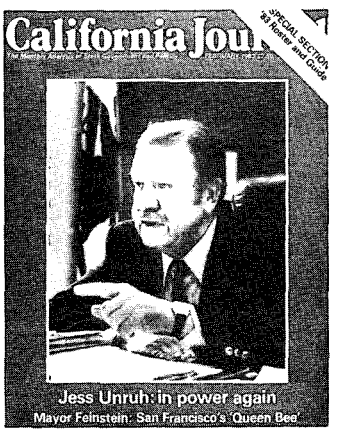
For more information . . .

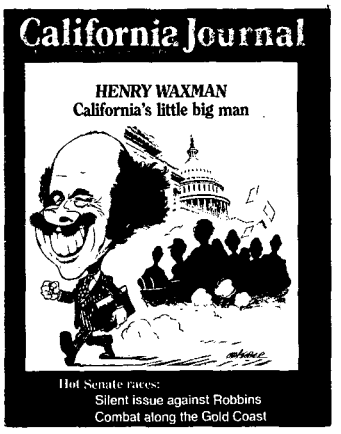
For complete up-to-date information on California politics, issues and personalities every month, subscribe to **CALIFORNIA JOURNAL** at 27% savings off the newsstand price.

In addition to in-depth coverage of major issues in the nation's largest state and what our lawmakers in Sacramento are doing about them, our regular features include:

- Roster up-dates;
- Current status of major bills;
- Voting records of the Senate and Assembly;
- A regular report from our Washington correspondent;
- Listings of newly published reference materials of interest to citizens of California; and
- Recent court decisions.

Your subscription also entitles you to receive regularly published booklets at **no extra charge,** such as the **Roster & Government Guide, Ballot Proposition Analysis** and **Guide to Federal Campaign Laws.**

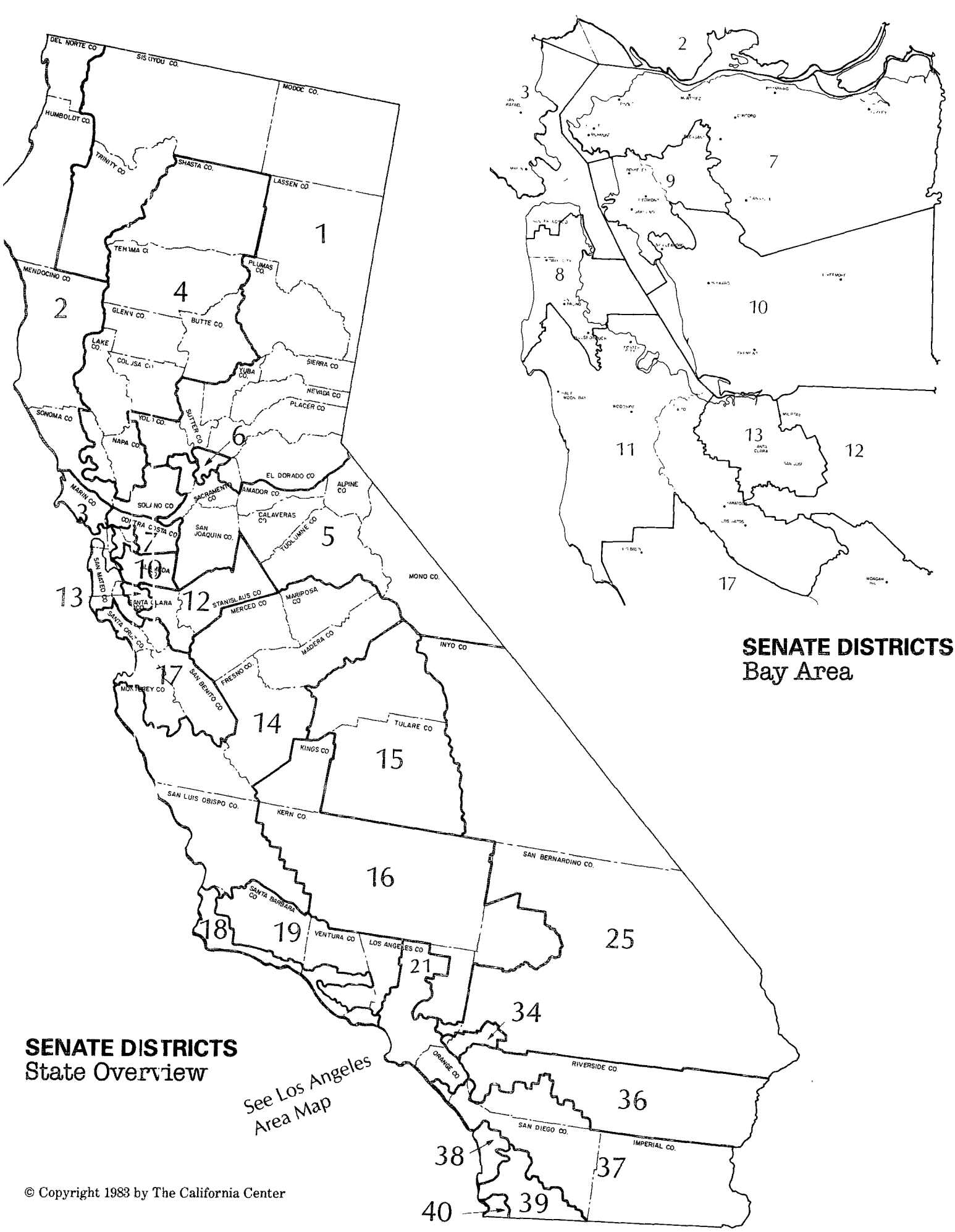




GUARANTEE: If you are not completely satisfied, you may cancel your subscription at any time and receive a refund on the unmailed copies.

Use the insert card enclosed to order your subscription now and don't miss one more issue of the state's leading political publication.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



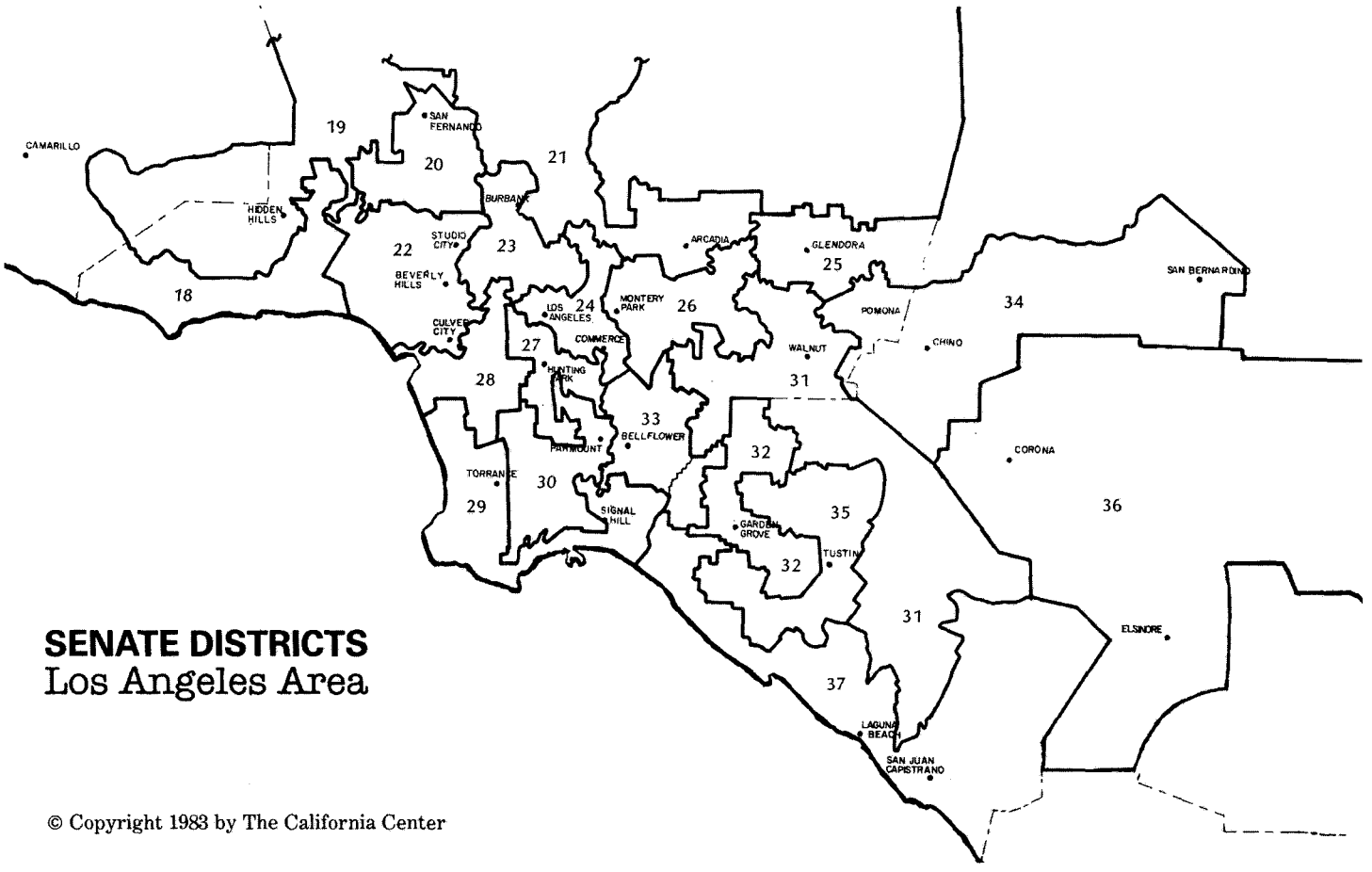
SENATE DISTRICTS
Bay Area

SENATE DISTRICTS
State Overview

See Los Angeles Area Map

© Copyright 1983 by The California Center

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



SENATE DISTRICTS
Los Angeles Area

© Copyright 1983 by The California Center

District 29 (47% D-42% R) — The beach cities of El Segundo, Redondo Beach and Manhattan Beach; also Palos Verdes, San Pedro and parts of Long Beach. This is the remains of two Republican districts that were collapsed in 1981, leaving Republicans Bob Beverly and Ollie Speraw to fight it out. Freshman Speraw has wisely decided not to challenge veteran Beverly. But GOP Assemblyman Gerald Felando is looking over the territory. Speraw, meanwhile, says he is moving into the newly designed 37th District, whose lines become effective in 1984 and which will have an open seat then.

District 30 (70% D-20% R) — The Los Angeles County communities of Gardena, Lawndale, Lynwood, Carson, Harbor City, part of Long Beach and part of Compton. Incumbent Democrat Ralph Dills, whose Sacramento service dates from the 1930s, won 71 percent of the vote in 1982 and shows no signs of quitting now.

District 31 (41% D-49% R) — The La Mirada, Whittier, West Covina and La Habra Heights area of Los Angeles County, and the adjoining Orange County communities of La Habra, Brea, Yorba Linda and a large section of southeast Orange County, including El Toro, Mission Viejo and Laguna Niguel. The district was tailor-made for Republican leader Bill Campbell, who should have no problems here unless something happens in the GOP primary.

District 32 (47% D-40% R) — The Orange County communities of Westminster, Garden Grove, Stanton and Orange, La Habra, Fullerton, and parts of Anaheim and Santa Ana. There was no incumbent here in 1982, and the seat was won by Republican Edward Royce. The new lines keep the district's 27 percent Hispanic community together and give Royce a slightly better GOP registration than he had, making him a bit safer. However, the district could become more Democratic in the future and produce a tough race by 1990.

District 33 (59% D-33% R) — Portions of Los Angeles and Orange counties, including Downey, Norwalk, Bellflower, Santa Fe Springs, Artesia, Cerritos, Lakewood, Hawaiian Gardens, Buena Park, Cypress and Los Alamitos. This largely blue-collar district has been tailored for Democratic Caucus Chairman Paul Carpenter, largely by removing some Republican-tending Orange County pieces and adding more solidly Democratic portions in Los Angeles County. The area is becoming increasingly Hispanic, about 24 percent now.

District 34 (57% D-31% R) — The Los Angeles County city of Pomona and the urban, populated western section of San Bernardino County, including Ontario, Fontana and most of the city of San Bernardino. Democrat Ruben Ayala won here easily in 1982 and is carrying on now with attempts to solve the state's water problems.

District 35 (41% D-47% R) — The Orange County communities of Fountain Valley, Costa Mesa and Tustin, plus parts of Santa Ana, Anaheim and Fullerton. This district was made to order in 1981 for incumbent Republican John Briggs, who surprised everyone by retiring. His special election successor, Republican John Seymour, should have no trouble holding the seat next year.

District 36 (50% D-38% R) — Most of Riverside County, except for the southwest portion. Republicans have their eye on this marginal district if incumbent Democrat Bob Presley, who won without opposition again last year, should ever decide to leave.

District 37 (39% D-49% R) — Imperial County, large northeastern part of San Diego County, southwestern Riverside County and a coastal section of Orange County, from Seal Beach to San Juan Capistrano. This is the open Republican seat being sought by Speraw, but Republican Assemblywoman Marian Bergeson of Newport Beach is a potential candidate, too. GOP Assemblyman David Kelley of Hemet is also interested.

District 38 (39% D-44% R) — Much of northwestern San Diego County, including Oceanside, Carlsbad, Escondido and down to Mission Bay in San Diego. Republican Bill Craven is safe here for as long as he chooses to run. He won last year with 60 percent of the vote.

District 39 (43% D-41% R) — Central part of San Diego County, stretching around the northern part of the city of San Diego to pick up Coronado to the west. The rest includes Santee, Lakeside, Cajon, Alpine and the Mountain Empire area. Imperial County has been removed from this district, making it much more compact and safe for Republican Jim Ellis, who should have no problems here next year.

District 40 (56% D-29% R) — This is the bulk of downtown San Diego, with Chula Vista, National City, Spring Valley and Lemon Grove. Democrat Wadie Deddeh won here last year with 74 percent of the vote.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Assembly:
Working a deal

Having reapportioned to suit themselves in 1981, Assembly Democrats were surprised and disappointed when the 1982 elections actually cost them a seat, reducing their margin to 48-32. At first, when the next reapportionment effort began in December, Democrats offered up a hard-ball plan that would have recaptured the seat and more, largely by collapsing Republican districts so that four Republicans would have to move or be defeated.

But Republicans protested vehemently and a deal was worked out: Republicans could redraw their 32 districts as they wished, provided that they hurt no Democrats.

In return, Republicans would help provide the 54 votes needed to give the reapportionment bill urgency status (two-thirds majority), making it "referendum proof." (Urgency statutes are exempt from referendum.)

Since the same deal was worked out in the Senate, both houses have new reapportionment plans that should protect incumbents and preserve the status quo.

District 1 (52% D-36% R) — Siskiyou, Modoc, Shasta, Lassen, Tehama, Glenn, Trinity and Plumas counties, plus the portion of Butte County north of Chico and Paradise. A solidly Republican district for incumbent Stan Statham.

District 2 (53% D-31% R) — Del Norte, Humboldt and Mendocino counties and northern and western Sonoma County, including Rohnert Park and Cotati. Freshman Democrat Dan Hauser should have no difficulty getting re-elected.

District 3 (48% D-39% R) — Sierra, Nevada, Yuba, Sutter and Colusa counties and part of Butte County including Chico and Paradise. A Republican seat Wally Herger should hold.

District 4 (58% D-28% R) — All of Solano County and the southern part of Yolo County, including Davis. Democrat Tom Hannigan can spend his time worrying about legislation; re-election is easy.

District 5 (53% D-34% R) — The populated areas of western Placer County including Auburn, Roseville and Lincoln and northeastern Sacramento County. This district, which contains lots of low-loyalty Democrats, was slightly weakened in the latest reapportionment; incumbent Jean Moorhead is not out of danger despite a solid re-election margin in her first race after switching from Republican to Democrat.

District 6 (57% D-31% R) — This central Sacramento County district was virtually unchanged in the last reapportionment and remains solidly Democratic; freshman Democrat Lloyd Connelly should have no difficulty getting re-elected.

District 7 (53% D-35% R) — Mono, Calaveras, Tuolumne, El Dorado and Alpine counties, Placer County except Auburn, and the rural southern portion of Sacramento County. This is nearly the same district in which Democrat Norm Waters won 70 percent of the vote in 1982, but Republicans could win here if Waters leaves.

District 8 (50% D-38% R) — Lake and Napa counties, northern Yolo County and the vineyard area of eastern Sonoma County, including the cities of Sonoma and Santa Rosa. Re-election chances don't worry Republican Don Sebastiani despite the Democratic registration edge.

District 9 (48% D-35% R) — Marin and southern Sonoma County. Republican Bill Filante knows he can always expect a Democratic challenge in this marginal district.

District 10 (59% D-31% R) — The Antioch portion of Contra Costa County, a piece of northern San Joaquin County and portions of Sacramento County, including downtown Sacramento, Galt, Lodi, Elk Grove and Del Paso Heights. The extension north to pick up Del Paso Heights in this already oddly shaped district gives freshman Democrat Phil Isenberg more Democratic votes, making him safer than before.

District 11 (66% D-23% R) — The Contra Costa County bayfront area from Richmond to Pittsburg. Bob Campbell or any other Democrat should be safe here for the '80s.

District 12 (59% D-25% R) — The cities of Berkeley and El Cerrito and portions of Pleasant Hill and Concord. A solidly Democratic district for Tom Bates.

District 13 (70% D-17% R) — The cities of Alameda and Emeryville and most of Oakland. Elihu Harris will have no difficulty holding this heavily black and overwhelmingly Democratic district.

District 14 (63% D-25% R) — The cities of San Leandro and Hayward, part of Oakland and the Castro Valley area. Freshman Democrat Johan Klehs has a solid Democratic district in which his only fear might be a primary challenge.

District 15 (39% D-48% R) — Every Republican in the East Bay has been assembled into this district which includes the Contra Costa County communities of Walnut Creek, Moraga, Lafayette, Orinda, Danville, San Ramon and a piece of Concord plus the Livermore-Pleasanton portion of Alameda County. It is probably no coincidence that the home of a Democratic rising star, County Supervisor Sunne McPeak, was added to this district. In any case, incumbent Republican Bill Baker of Danville has a safe seat.

District 16 (67% D-16% R) — The eastern and lower-income portions of San Francisco. Solid Democratic territory for Art Agnos.

District 17 (60% D-22% R) — The central and northwestern, silk-stocking areas of San Francisco. A safe Democratic district, perfectly attuned to Assembly Speaker Willie Brown.

District 18 (57% D-28% R) — The Alameda County cities of Union City, Newark and Fremont, plus the Milpitas area of Santa Clara County. This seat could go Republican if Democrat Alister McAlister retired.

District 19 (62% D-26% R) — The cities of Daly City, South San Francisco, San Bruno, Pacifica and Milbrae in San Mateo County and the southwest portion of San Francisco. A solid Democratic seat for incumbent Lou Papan.

District 20 (45% D-43% R) — The San Mateo County cities of Burlingame, Hillsborough, San Mateo, Foster City, Belmont, San Carlos and Half Moon Bay. A safe Republican seat for Republican Caucus Chairman Bob Naylor.

District 21 (51% D-32%R) — The cities of Palo Alto and Mountain View, plus parts of Sunnyvale and Redwood City. This is the Silicon Valley of California and is not strong Democratic territory, but Democrat Byron Sher seems comfortable here.

District 22 (43% D-43%R) — The cities of Los Altos, Cupertino, Saratoga, Los Gatos, New Almaden and most of Campbell. A strongly Republican district for incumbent Ernest Konnyu.

District 23 (60% D-25%R) — Eastern San Jose, the city of Santa Clara and parts of Campbell and Alum Rock. This strongly Democratic district has a 30 percent-plus Latino population and should continue to return John Vasconcellos to the Assembly for the foreseeable future.

District 24 (55% D-31%R) — The southern portion of San Jose, part of Alum Rock, Berryessa, Evergreen and Cambrian Park. Dominic Cortese, a Democrat, is in good shape in this Democratic district.

District 25 (54% D-33%R) — San Benito County, Gilroy and Morgan Hill in Santa Clara County, the western half of Merced County and the Salinas region of Monterey County. This district is about one-third Latino and agricultural. In 1982 this open seat could have gone either way and the seat is likely to be a battleground all decade. With a strong victory under his belt, Rusty Areias gives the Democrats the advantage here.

District 26 (58% D-32%R) — The heart of San Joaquin County, including the city of Stockton. The registration is misleading in this Central Valley district where Democrats look at the candidate, not the party. Democrat Pat Johnston won this eat in 1980 on a recount, and won solidly in 1982. But this seat could return to the Republican column under the right circumstances.

District 27 (56% D-35%R) — Stanislaus County plus the Atwater-Snelling region of Merced County. Republicans competed for this district in 1982 with a write-in candidate. They believe the seat is marginal all the way and expect to challenge Gary Condit who won handily in the identical area in 1982.

WEBSITE TO ONLY SEE
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

District 28 (51% D-31%R) — Santa Cruz County and northwest Monterey County, including the city of Monterey and part of Carmel. This is not a strong Democratic seat but Sam Farr is a popular and effective campaigner.

District 29 (45% D-43%R) — The Monterey-San Luis Obispo-Santa Barbara coastal area including King City, Paso Robles, Morro Bay, Pismo Beach, Santa Maria and Guadalupe. This is a solidly Republican seat for freshman Eric Seastrand.

District 30 (62% D-29%R) — All of Kings County, plus portions of Fresno, Madera and Merced counties including Chowchilla, Madera, Mendota and part of the city of Fresno. This is a Democratic district, and incumbent Jim Costa is a good campaigner who should survive any challenges.

District 31 (61% D-30%R) — Central Fresno County including most of the city of Fresno and surrounding cities of Clovis, Parlier, Sanger, Reedley and Selma. The district was carefully crafted for Democrats. Freshman Bruce Bronzan should hold this for as long as he likes.

District 32 (48% D-43%R) — Mariposa County and the mountainous portions of Tulare, Fresno and Madera counties including Visalia, Porterville and part of the city of Tulare. This was long-time Assemblyman Gordon Duffy's district and was made solidly Republican. Bill Jones is heir to the mantle.

District 33 (54% D-37%R) — The western portions of Tulare and Kern counties, including Delano, Taft and parts of the cities of Bakersfield and Tulare. This 30 percent Latino district is solidly Republican-voting and was strengthened in this latest reapportionment for Don Rogers.

District 34 (50% D-40%R) — Inyo County, eastern Kern County including a large portion of the city of Bakersfield and Antelope Valley in Los Angeles County. Republican Phil Wyman is in a safe district.

District 35 (50% D-34%R) — Urban Santa Barbara County south to Oxnard in Ventura County. This is a very marginal district carried in 1982 by Democrat Jack O'Connell. But it is said Brooks Firestone, who lost narrowly, will be back to try again. In any case, this district could be competitive all decade.

District 36 (43% D-45%R) — The City of Ventura, Camarillo and Thousand Oaks area of Ventura County including portions of Oxnard and Port Hueneme. This is a solid Republican district held by freshman Tom McClintock.

District 37 (44% D-44%R) — The Ventura County cities of Simi Valley, Filmore and Ojai; Lompoc and Buellton in Santa Barbara County and the Chatsworth-Newhall-Saugus area of Los Angeles County. This district still houses the sanctuary of the California Condor, but it looks less like the bird. Republican Cathie Wright has a safe seat.

District 38 (47% D-44%R) — The Los Angeles County communities of Calabasas, Sylmar, Sunland-Tujunga, La Crescenta-Montrose, Northridge, Hidden Hills and part of Burbank. This wildly shaped district can only be loved by a Republican. Marian LaFollette will take good care of the area.

District 39 (60% D-30%R) — The San Fernando Valley area around the city of San Fernando. A Democratic district for Richard Katz despite some conservative areas.

District 40 (59% D-31%R) — The San Fernando Valley area of Van Nuys. Senior Assemblyman Tom Bane has a very comfortable Democratic district.

District 41 (41%D-51%R) — La Canada, La Canada-Flintridge, part of Altadena and part of Pasadena. This is one of a handful of Assembly districts with Republican registration over 50 percent. Pat Nolan is in a solid district.

District 42 (42%D-50%R) — South Pasadena, Arcadia, Duarte, Monrovia, Sierra Madre, San Marino, Temple City, Azusa and Irwindale. Republican Caucus Chairman Dick Montjoy wasn't going to get a marginal seat.

District 43 (56%D-34%R) — The Beverly Hills-Studio City-Sherman Oaks-Topanga Canyon-Woodland Hills area of Los Angeles County. The only question about the representation for this district is raised in the Democratic primary. Gray Davis answered that question last year.

District 44 (58%D-30%R) — Santa Monica and portions of western Los Angeles, Pacific Palisades, Malibu and Rancho Park. Although Republicans took a shot at substantially the same district in 1982, the numbers make it overwhelmingly Democratic, just right for Tom Hayden.

District 45 (60%D-28%R) — A Hollywood-based district with heavy Jewish population. Comfortable territory for freshman Democrat Burt Margolin.

District 46 (58%D-28%R) — The western portion of downtown Los Angeles, Griffith Park, a piece of Hollywood and Silver Lake. The district is heavily Latino and Asian and just right for Majority Floor Leader Mike Roos.

District 47 (83%D-10%R) — Central Los Angeles, Huntington Park, Bell and Cudahy. This district is 40 percent black and 47 percent Latino; a solid base for Democrat Teresa Hughes.

District 48 (84%D-10%R) — The Watts-South Gate area of Los Angeles. Fifty percent black and 36 percent Latino, it is the most Democratic district in the state and Maxine Waters loves it.

District 49 (72%D-19%R) — Culver City and a piece of Los Angeles east of it, Marina Del Rey and part of Venice. Another heavily black district (46 percent), and Gwen Moore feels right at home.

District 50 (76%D-17%R) — The Inglewood-El Segundo area of Los Angeles. Republicans need not apply in this 55 percent black, 18 percent Latino district represented by Curtis Tucker.

District 51 (43%D-46%R) — Palos Verdes, Torrance, Hermosa Beach, Manhattan Beach, Redondo Beach and part of San Pedro. Gerald Felando had to beat out a fellow incumbent in this area in 1982, but after the Republican primary the race is over.

District 52 (47%D-43%R) — La Mirada, Walnut, La Habra Heights and portions of Whittier and West Covina. Republican freshman Frank Hill effectively won the right to represent this district in the primary.

District 53 (64%D-25%R) — Gardena, Lawndale, Hawthorne and Carson plus a portion of the Harbor City-San Pedro area. This is a strong Democratic district in which Dick Floyd won a decisive re-election victory in 1982.

District 54 (68%D-24%R) — Compton, Paramount, Bellflower, Lakewood and a portion of Long Beach. Mostly blue-collar Democratic territory for Frank Vicencia.

District 55 (68%D-22%R) — Portions of Pasadena and East Los Angeles. A solid Democratic and heavily Latino (60 percent) district for Richard Alatorre who authored the reapportionment plan.

District 56 (78%D-12%R) — Part of East Los Angeles, Commerce, Vernon, Maywood and Bell Gardens. At 78 percent, this is the most Latino district in the state. Primaries are where the action is in districts like this, and it was a bruising primary in 1982 for the seat vacated by Art Torres that Gloria Molina won.

District 57 (64%D-26%R) — The harbor district of Los Angeles and Long Beach, including a stretch along the Los Angeles River. This district was thought to be a long-shot possibility for the Republicans, but with slight strengthening in the latest reapportionment and a strong re-election campaign for Dave Elder, the seat can be rated safe Democratic.

District 58 (45%D-42%R) — A shoreline area including a piece of Long Beach, Signal Hill and an Orange County strip from Seal Beach to Huntington Beach. This seat was also marginal once; now it is safe for Republican Dennis Brown.

District 59 (65%D-26%R) — Alhambra, Monterey Park, Montebello, Pico Rivera and portions of Whittier and Santa Fe Springs. This 53 percent Latino district is solidly Democratic. Charles Calderon won this district in the primary.

District 60 (64%D-27%R) — Industry, Baldwin Park, El Monte, La Puente, Rosemead and part of West Covina. The only question in this district is which Democrat will represent it. The district is 54 percent Latino and is represented by skilled campaigner Sally Tanner.

District 61 (44%D-44%R) — The San Bernardino County communities of Redlands, Loma Linda, Big Bear, Yucaipa, Victorville, Barstow, Needles and the wide-open space in between. This district has changed over the last two reapportionments in every respect except its Republican complexion. Safe territory for Bill Leonard.

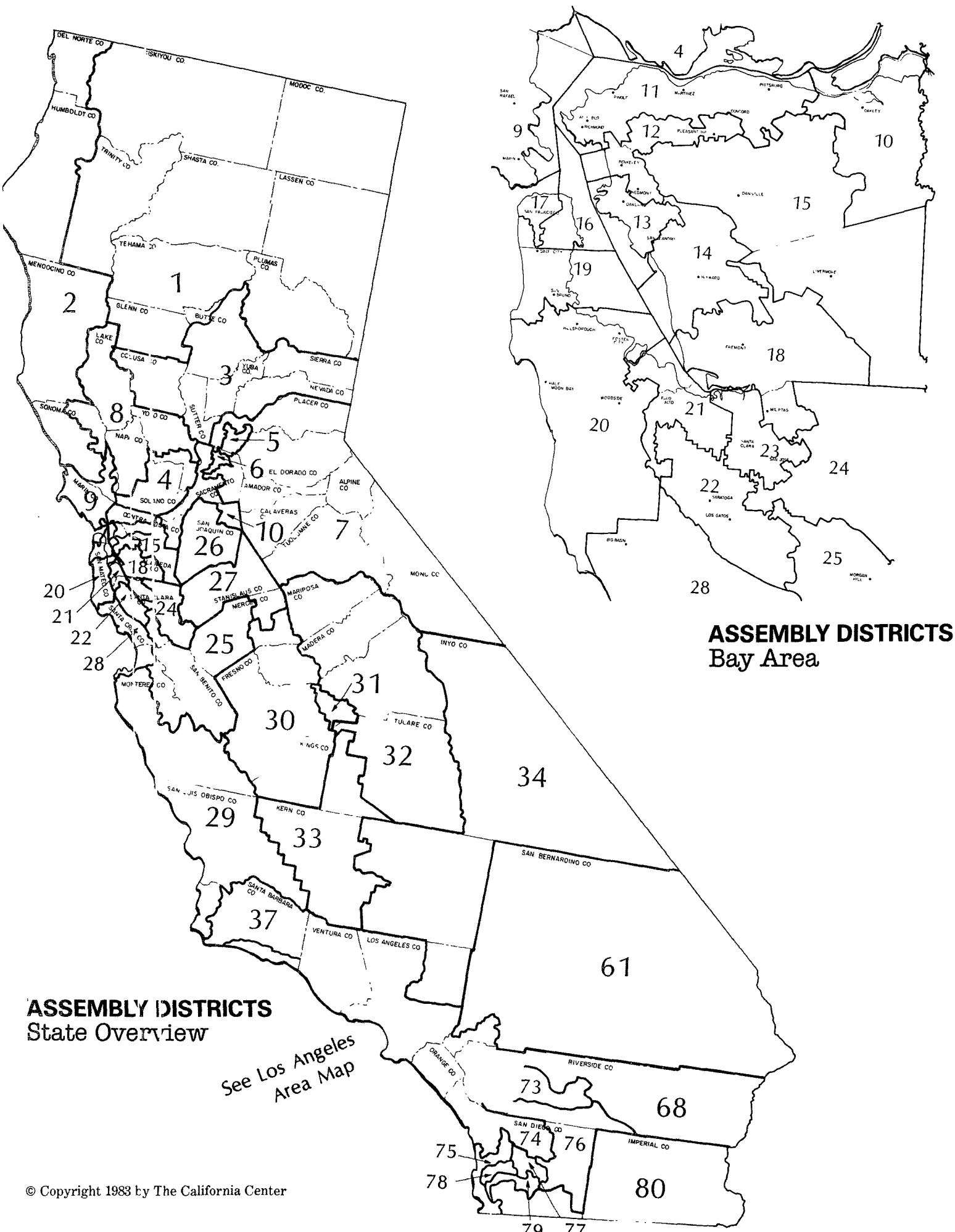
District 62 (46%D-45%R) — Claremont, Covina, part of West Covina, Glendora, Upland and part of Pomona. Bill Lancaster, the most senior Republican in the Assembly, has a seat that can keep him in Sacramento until 1992 at least.

District 63 (62%D-30%R) — Downey, Norwalk, Artesia, Cerritos, Hawaiian Gardens and part of Santa Fe Springs. This district is blue-collar and about one-third Latino. Democrat Bruce Young won both parties' nominations in 1982 and is well-ensconced, but the district could go either way without him.

District 64 (41%D-48%R) — Fullerton, Brea, La Habra, Placentia and part of Anaheim. In the heart of GOP-land, Ross Johnson didn't even have a Democratic opponent in 1982.

District 65 (49%D-40%R) — Rancho Cucamonga, Montclair, Hesperia, Adelanto, George Air Force Base, Chino and parts of Pomona and Ontario. Incumbent Democrat Jim Carmer was beaten in this area in 1982 when the registration was a marginal 54-35. The latest redistricting turns the 65th into a safe Republican seat for Charles Bader.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



ASSEMBLY DISTRICTS
Bay Area

ASSEMBLY DISTRICTS
State Overview

See Los Angeles Area Map

© Copyright 1983 by The California Center

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

District 66 (61%D-27%R) — The entire city of San Bernardino, Colton, Fontana, Crestline and parts of Ontario and Bloomington. This is a strongly Democratic district represented by incumbent Terry Goggin.

District 67 (36%D-52%R) — Tustin, Orange, Yorba Linda, Villa Park, portions of Anaheim and rural Orange County. It sure is nice, from John Lewis' point of view, to represent the second most Republican district in the state.

District 68 (55%D-33%R) — The Riverside County communities of Perris, Banning, Beaumont, Desert Hot Springs, Indio, Coachella, Blythe and a large piece of the city of Riverside. This is potentially a competitive district, but Democrat Steve Clute won a tough campaign here in 1982 and will have the incumbent's advantage in the future.

District 69 (41%D-45%R) — Irvine, Fountain Valley and parts of Costa Mesa, Huntington Beach and Santa Ana. A rock-ribbed Republican district for Nolan Frizelle who earned the comfort of an easy district in 1980.

District 70 (32%D-55%R) — Newport Beach, Laguna Beach, San Juan Capistrano, El Toro Air Base and Mission Viejo. This is the most Republican district in the state, just perfect for Marian Bergeson.

District 71 (49%D-40%R) — Buena Park, La Palma, Cypress, Los Alamitos and portions of Westminster, Anaheim and Garden Grove. Changes made in this district in the 1981 reapportionment made it weaker for a Democrat, as Chet Wray found out in 1982. The latest reapportionment memorializes in concrete the victory of Doris Allen, who can win here for the rest of the decade.

District 72 (54%D-33%R) — Stanton and portions of Santa Ana, Garden Grove and Anaheim. The Republicans like to refer to this district as the "Robidor" because of the strange twisting and turning to find enough Democrats in this area to make a district for Richard Robinson. Only as skilled a campaigner as the Democratic Caucus chairman can hold the seat in the Democratic column.

District 73 (46%D-44%R) — The Riverside County areas of Corona, Norco, Hemet, San Jacinto, Palm Springs and a part of the city of Riverside. This is an elegant spa for Republican David Kelley.

District 74 (35%D-50%R) — Straddling the Orange-San Diego County line, this district includes San Clemente, Camp Pendleton, Rancho Santa Fe, and the Oceanside-Carlsbad region. A totally safe Republican seat for Bob Frazee.

District 75 (37%D-46%R) — Imperial Beach, Del Mar, Coronado, La Jolla, Poway and part of the city of San Diego. The Republican primary is decisive in this district. Sunny Mojonnier won the nomination in 1982 in this new district.

District 76 (38%D-48%R) — Parts of San Diego County including Escondido, Casa del Oro and a piece of Chula Vista and the Riverside County areas of Indian Wells, Palm Desert and Rancho Mirage. This is de-

Board of Equalization:

Carving for job security

The State Board of Equalization is not especially well known, but it provides four elective jobs of good pay and unburdensome work. As a result, the battling over the board's district boundaries can be as intense as any other reapportionment fight. That is what happened in 1981 when the Legislature was by law supposed to reapportion the board but did not. However, the feuding has ended and the four incumbents have endorsed the new plan, mainly because it does its best to give each of them job security for years to come.

Actually, the board has five members, the fifth being the state controller. Together, they oversee a competent bureaucracy of attorneys, auditors and clerks who collect the sales and gasoline taxes, assess utility properties and advise board members on the assessment and income-tax appeal decisions that they also must make. For this, the four elected members are paid $50,850 a year (with a small bonus for the chairman), plus an automobile of choice, travel and expense payments and participation in the Legislature's relatively generous pension system.

The 1981 fight broke out after member George Reilly of San Francisco announced plans to retire in 1982. As member William Bennett of Kentfield in Marin County sought to redraw Reilly's boundaries so that he (Bennett) could have San Francisco, members of the Legislature sought to carve it in other ways to help colleagues and others who were thinking of running for Reilly's seat. In the end, Conway Collis, an aide to U.S. Senator Alan Cranston, won the fight. After Reilly stepped down early, Collis was appointed to the seat in August by then-Governor Brown and won election in November to a four-year term.

Because the districts were not reapportioned in 1981, members ran in 1982 on the lines drawn in 1971. The new boundaries take effect 91 days after the close of the Legislature's special session. Here is a description of the new districts:

District 1 (55%D-38%R) — This was District 3, represented by Bennett and covering most of Northern California. It still does, but with some small differences: San Joaquin County is removed and six mountain counties are added, bringing the number of counties to 33. Bennett, a Democratic liberal and consumer rights activist of the 1960s, could be in trouble here someday if he continues to run without accepting campaign donations.

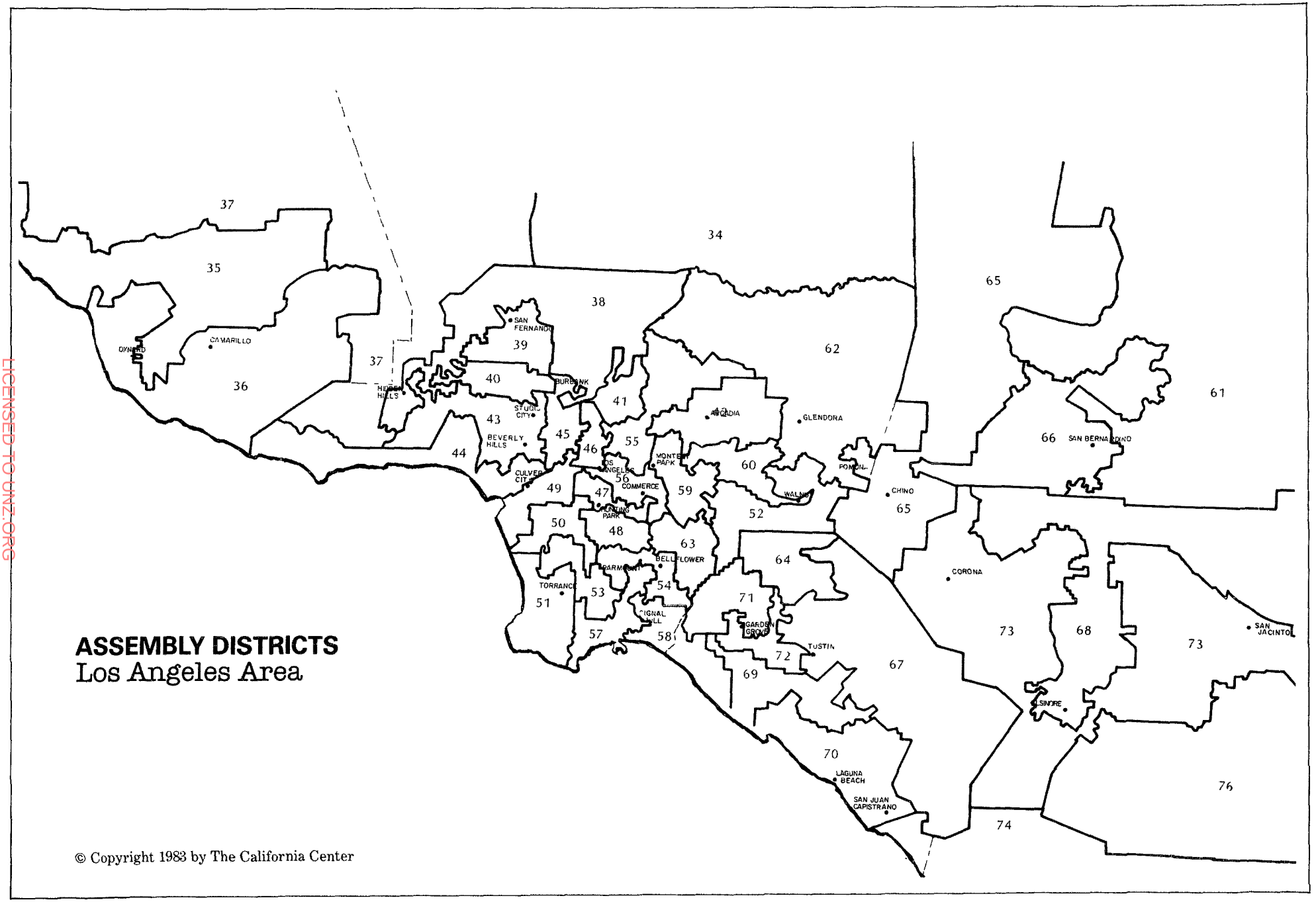
District 2 (55%D-33%R) — This was the old District 1, represented by Reilly and now by Collis. It covers 17 counties, from San Francisco south to the northwestern part of Los Angeles. It also goes inland to pick up the San Joaquin Valley. Democrat Collis won narrowly in 1982 over former Republican Assemblyman Bill Ivers, who had been reapportioned out of his seat. The new lines remove some weak Democratic and Republican territory from the district and give Collis more loyal Democrats, such as those in Fresno and Beverly Hills. However, Collis is a bright young (35) politico on the make (he's helping run Cranston's presidential campaign) and may not be around to enjoy the security very long.

District 3 (45%D-43%R) — This was District 2, represented by the board's only Republican, Ernest Dronenburg Jr. The new lines give Dronenburg eight counties, adding Inyo and Mono and subtracting Fresno, Kings and Tulare.

District 4 (58%D-32%R) — The district number here remains the same and belongs to board veteran Richard Nevins. The district covers the eastern two-thirds of Los Angeles County and was redrawn to give Beverly Hills and Santa Monica to Collis. In return, Democrat Nevins gets the cities of Arcadia, Azusa, Burbank, Covina, El Monte, Monrovia and Pomona. Nevins, who has been on the board for 24 years, is among the beneficiaries of a "super-escalator" pension plan which, thanks to a Supreme Court decision, provides extraordinary benefits to some politicians. He could retire now on a pension of $107,638 a year.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG



ASSEMBLY DISTRICTS
Los Angeles Area

© Copyright 1983 by The California Center

sert for a Democrat. Republican Bill Bradley of Escondido won in this new district in 1982.

District 77 (43%D-43%R) — El Cajon, Santee, La Mesa and a portion of the city of San Diego. A solid Republican district for Larry Stirling.

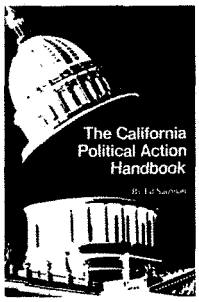
District 78 (48%D-35%R) — The northern portions of the city of San Diego, including Mesa, East San Diego, Balboa Park and Old Town. This is definitely a marginal district, the least Democratic district won by a Democrat in 1982. Lucy Killea can bank on a tough fight in 1984.

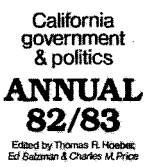
District 79 (61%D-25%R) — The southern portions of the city of San Diego, including most of the black and Latino neighborhoods. A safe Democratic seat for Peter Chacon.

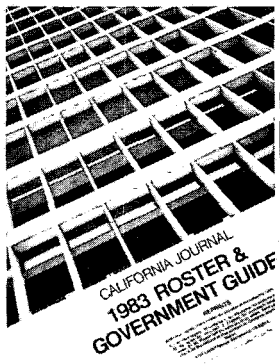
District 80 (54%D-33%R) — Imperial County, plus National City and part of Chula Vista in San Diego County. This is a distinctly competitive seat won in 1982 by Democrat Steve Peace. He can expect as tough a campaign in 1984 as he had in 1982.

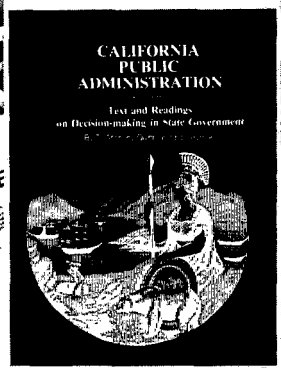
THE CALIFORNIA JOURNAL BOOKSTORE

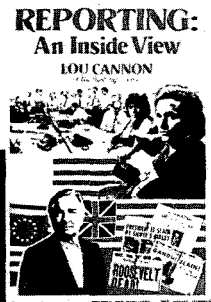
Informative and entertaining books about California politics and history are always available from the California Journal Press, often at discount prices. The current selection:

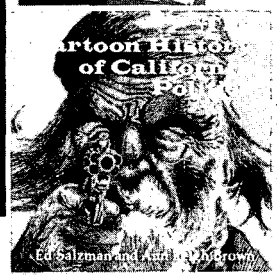


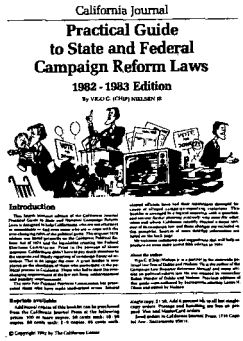












The California Political Action Handbook, *by Ed Salzman.* This guide to the political game in Sacramento answers these questions: How can an organization or an individual win in Sacramento? What tactics should be applied when legislative emergencies arise? How can the bureaucracy be penetrated? How can elections be won? Price for the 32-page 5½ x 8½ handbook: 25 or more copies, 95 cents each; 6-24 copies, $1.50 each; 2-5 copies, $1.95 each; single copy, $2.50. Add six percent sales tax.

California Government and Politics Annual, 1982-83. Published every year, the *Annual* consists of reprints of *California Journal* articles covering the various branches of government, elections, political reform, lobbying, taxation, local government, the environment, business, health and welfare. The book also includes a "Practical Guide to California Government and Politics." 8½ x 11, 128 pages. $5.25 paper.

1983 Roster & Government Guide. Contains the names, titles, addresses and telephone numbers of all the key players in California government; a list of state agencies, a legislative-process chart and plenty of other useful information. Price for the 16-page pamphlet: 100 or more copies, 30 cents each; 50-99 copies, 40 cents each; 10-49 copies, 60 cents each; 2-9 copies, 85 cents each; single copy, $1.50. Add six percent sales tax to all but single-copy orders.

California Public Administration *by T. Anthony Quinn and Ed Salzman.* First published four years ago, this book has become a basic resource for students of California's system of government and for individuals who want to learn about the inner workings of the state bureaucracy. This second edition contains a large new section on the California tax revolt and the impact of Proposition 13. Sections are included on the top executives, the regulatory agencies, the Legislature, the judicial system, education and the bureaucracy. The book also contains diagrams showing the legislative process, the court system and the state's administrative agencies. 1982, 8½ x 11, 112 pages. $5.25 paper.

Reporting: An Inside View *by Lou Cannon.* The Watergate exposé by Woodward and Bernstein has again romanticized newspaper reporting in America. But how many of us know what really goes on behind the scenes in the complex process that determines what is and what isn't fit to print? Anyone interested in the workings of the press during the post-Watergate era will find **REPORTING: AN INSIDE VIEW** fascinating reading. 1977. 6 x 9, 308 pages, $10.55 cloth, $5.25 paper.

Cartoon History of California Politics, *by Ed Salzman and Ann Leigh Brown.* A new, entertaining history of the state as drawn by political cartoonists from Nast to Conrad. This handsomely-bound book contains 119 cartoons, most of them covering a full-page. An ideal gift for yourself or a friend. 1978. 8 x 8, 156 pages. New discount price: $4.19.

Practical Guide to State and National Campaign Reform Laws, 1982-83 *by V. G. Nielsen Jr.* This 12-page booklet, prepared in an easy-to-understand question-and-answer format, explains the myriad new campaign reform laws. Copies are: 100 or more, 50 cents each; 10-99, 60 cents each; 2-9 copies, 85 cents each; single copy, $1.50. Add 6% tax to all but single-copy orders.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The high-stakes legal war between Controller Cory and Big Oil

By A. G. BLOCK

It has been almost 10 years since Assemblyman Ken Cory ran for state controller using a campaign slogan, "The Man the Oil Companies Fear Most." He won that race in 1974 and has been re-elected twice since then — but the multi-million-dollar question of whether the oil companies have anything to fear is still pending in federal court.

An anti-trust lawsuit against seven major oil companies was filed in June 1975 by the state and by the City of Long Beach as co-plaintiff. No one — not even the presiding judge — seems to know exactly when the two sides will square off in court; the earliest possible date would be next January. But the state claims damages in excess of $300 million dollars, and could collect three times that amount if an anti-trust judgment is upheld. Oil company attorneys place potential damages at a much lower figure — somewhere around $40 million.

If the state wins, the case could produce the largest anti-trust settlement in U.S. history. Also, it could alter dramatically the way the oil industry does business, and it could have a major impact on the costs to consumers of all petroleum products.

So far, the only sure thing is that the costs of litigation for both sides have been enormous: as much as $10 million to the state and anywhere from $25 million to $70 million for the oil companies, with the meter still ticking for both sides. Cory, who indicates he ran for a third term as controller last November "just to see this through," insists that money to prosecute the case does not come from the state's general fund or from the State Lands Commission budget, but from revenues earned by the state from the sale of crude oil to, among others, the defendants.

Yet, until the trial and appeals are concluded, and until a final judgment is rendered in this case, it is not exactly clear who will pick up the tab. The possibility exists that consumers may yet pony up not only the cost of prosecuting the case (because oil revenues used to prosecute are still revenues not available for other state needs), but also the cost of the judgment if the seven major oil companies merely pass through the cost of settlement in higher prices. Cory discounts the latter possibility, as does Anthony Brown, an attorney for Pillsbury, Madison and Sutro, the San Francisco law firm that represents Standard Oil of California.

"If we win this case," Cory says, "then competition will take over the marketplace. If the industry is forced to compete, really compete, it will lower the cost to consumers."

Is the possibility of a billion-dollar judgment against the oil companies a partial solution to the state's current fiscal crisis? Not likely. Eight years have elapsed since the state's complaint was filed; a November 1982 trial date was postponed; attorneys are still in the discovery stage; and once under way, the trial is apt to last six months or more, with the inevitable appeals likely to take several years.

A long history

The lawsuit's history dates back to some Assembly hearings in the mid-'60s which resulted in a few reports on oil companies' purchasing practices. "But that was when oil was cheap," Cory recalls, "and no one paid much attention."

Then came the Arab oil embargo of the early '70s, with skyrocketing prices, gasoline shortages and threats of rationing. Assemblyman Cory chaired a legislative Joint Committee on Public Domain which, after hearings, issued several strongly worded reports during the latter part of 1974. One such report branded the defendants as merely "separate divisions of a single California crude oil company" and urged the state to seek anti-trust remedies in court.

Two months later, Cory was state controller and chairman of the State Lands Commission. By June the commission had gone to court, alleging that Standard of California, Texaco, Exxon, Union Oil, Mobil, Shell, Arco and Thums Long Beach Company had engaged in "a combination and conspiracy" to "artificially fix and stabilize the prices for crude oil at unreasonably low levels" at the state-owned Wilmington Oil Field near Long Beach.

A. G. Block, a free-lance writer in Sacramento, wrote "California's Energy Future," CJ, May 1982.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

That complaint, filed in U.S. District Court for the Central District of California, further alleged that the defendants, over a period of years, sought to "monopolize the exploration, development, distribution and sale of crude oil . . . in violation of Sections 1 and 2 of the Sherman Act." According to the complaint, the oil companies fixed noncompetitive prices for crude oil, refused the use of their pipeline transportation systems to independent producers and refiners, exchanged crude oil among themselves, and prevented independent refiners and marketers from gaining access to tidelands oil through competitive bidding. All of the oil companies involved as defendants have denied the allegations.

Evidence gathered during the past seven years has thus far been suppressed by the presiding judge, Judge William Gray of Los Angeles. But attorney Bob Hight of the Lands Commission indicates that the state's case is based, at least in part, on evidence and testimony gleaned during the 1974 hearings, amplified by 5 million pages of documents and depositions taken in conjunction with the discovery phase of litigation.

"The oil companies would have been better off with a quick trial six or seven years ago," Hight says. "The state (evidence) was in bad shape before all their (defendants') stall tactics dragged out the discovery procedure."

Basically, the Lands Commission charges that oil companies paid the state and the city of Long Beach less than the fair market value for oil pumped from the Wilmington Field, and then transported and traded that oil among themselves at a price effectively above the royalty price paid to the state. Although the suit focuses on transactions and contracts at the Wilmington Field, repercussions from a state victory could echo throughout the entire oil industry in California. It could also expose the defendants to similar litigation from independent producers caught in the same buyer-seller squeeze.

A basic issue in the lawsuit is the ownership of oil pipelines, according to Cory's office. If the state wins its case, it will seek to have private pipelines declared as public carriers if, at any time, they carry crude oil or finished products for any company other than the proprietary company. This would prevent the defendants from creating cozy "you-carry-my-stuff-and-I'll-carry-your-stuff" agreements, to the exclusion of independents. According to the state's attorneys, it would bring private oil pipelines under the regulatory control of the Public Utilities Commission and open them to anyone willing to pay the going rate for transport of products.

(Attorney Brown, on the other hand, does not see pipelines as an issue, nor the designation of private pipelines as common carriers a "conceivable result" of the litigation.)

Pipelines, especially the major trunk lines carrying crude from oil fields to refining centers, are 83 percent owned by the defendants, and without access to those pipelines, independent producers and refiners, including the state of California, must still either sell to or buy from the defendants, or incur the prohibitive expense of building their own systems.

The crux of the state's case involves the "market price" for oil at Wilmington. The state says this was determined by what is called the "posted price," an offer for crude posted by defendant-buyers at each field. This price, the state alleges, was not subject to negotiation but was determined strictly by the buyer. Since no one but the buyer (or another of the defendants) could effectively or efficiently move that crude from the field to a refinery, sellers were stuck with the price. Only four companies (Standard of California, Mobil, Union Oil and ARCO) were posting prices in 1974, and all four postings were "virtually identical." Although 25 other refiners purchased oil in California in 1974, all purchases were made with reference to these posted prices.

The legal complaint alleges that major oil companies conspired to set that posted price, then effectively increased the value of the same oil by breaking it down into three "cuts" (heavy, medium and light), and exchanging the "cuts" among themselves through their private pipeline systems.

As Cory explains, "During the oil crunch, some independent refiners were buying crude oil at the wellhead for a dollar a barrel more than the posted price, transporting it on their own, refining it at less efficient refineries, and still selling it to the consumer for less than the majors. That had to tell us something was wrong."

Independent oil producers were as much at the mercy of the seven defendants as was the state, Cory adds. But the independents were anything but eager to leap into a legal brawl with major oil companies. Thus far, not one independent oil refiner or producer has joined the state in litigation.

"Fear," Cory says, to explain the independents' reluctance to sue big oil. "They still have nowhere else to sell their oil, no other way to transport it around cheaply. They don't have the financial resources to bite the hand that still feeds them."

For this reason and others, Cory feels the state could not afford not to prosecute this case, and he sees little chance of a settlement. "Petroleum products affect the entire economy," he says. "This is not a fight we can give up on," Cory adds.

On the other side, attorney Brown also sees little chance of an out-of-court settlement. "Politicians," he says, "can't let go of a case unless the settlement is of sufficient magnitude to justify the cost. The defendants are simply unwilling to pay enough to get those politicians off the hook."

The ballot front . . .

A roundup of statewide initiative proposals. (Signatures required and deadlines are in parentheses.)

In circulation:

- **GOVERNMENT PENSION PLANS** — a constitutional amendment initiative to require all new public employees after January 1st, 1985, to enroll in federal Social Security program. (630,136, June 30th)
- **REAPPORTIONMENT OF CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS** — an initiative statute to block enactment of congressional district lines as defined in AB 2, passed by the Legislature in December. Referendum would not challenge Board of Equalization lines also defined in AB 2. (393,835, April 2nd)
- **LOTTERIES, GAMBLING** — a constitutional-amendment drive (the 18th) to legalize gambling in California, with all proceeds to benefit public education. (553,790, March 14th)
- **VOTERS-ELECTORS** — an amendment to clarify the constitution by changing the word "electors" to "voters" in provisions dealing with the initiative process. (553,790, March 14th)
- **MARIJUANA** — an initiative-statute drive (the 12th) to legalize and to provide amnesty for personal use of marijuana for persons 18 and over. (393,835, April 4th)
- **SPORTS FANS CONSUMER BOARD** — an initiative statute to establish a non-profit corporation to represent the interests of sports fans before owners, Legislature and other public bodies. (393,835, April 21st)

Qualified for next election:

None to date.

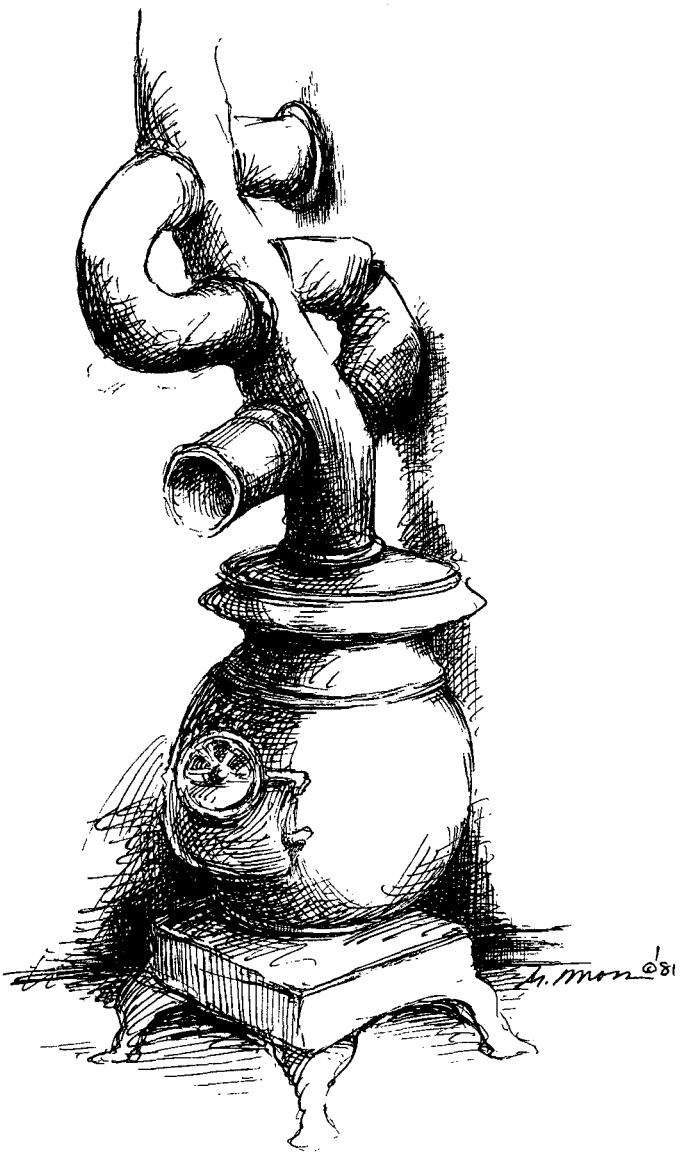
Source: Secretary of State March Fong Eu.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The slow-but-sure arrival of those new home energy standards

By ROBERT FEINBAUM

The one-year postponement for California's controversial energy conservation requirements for single-family homes expires in June, meaning that new homes will cost a little more but should require a little less money for heating and cooling during years to come. Although many builders would like to see the rules repealed, there is little or no chance that the Legislature will do so. However, some heavy tinkering may occur, and one of Governor George Deukmejian's proposed budget cuts could hurt the program.



Approved more than 18 months ago by the Energy Commission the new requirements were to have taken effect July 13th, 1982. But in response to builder contentions that projects already in the planning stage should be exempted, former Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr. and the Legislature enacted a new schedule. It says that single-family projects that were in the design stage prior to June 15th, 1982 (their subdivision maps had received tentative approval), may be built under the old conservation rules until June 15th, 1983. Projects with multi-family units may observe the old rules until December 31st this year.

Don Collin, lobbyist for the California Building Industry Association, notes that Brown didn't sign the new schedule into law until July 13th last year, an action which — when combined with other provisions of law — means that many of the proposed new units are exempted from the new rules for even longer than the one-year period. The length of the exemptions varies according to local government building codes.

Robert Feinbaum is a free-lance writer based in the Bay Area.

But however slowly, the new rules will take effect, replacing energy standards that have been on the books since 1978. Most home builders have adjusted to these requirements for insulation (in ceilings and walls), limits on window area, and efficient furnaces. The new rules go further by dividing the state into 16 climate zones and establishing an energy "budget" for homes in each area. Builders may stay within their budgets in a variety of ways: thicker insulation, north-south orientation of the home, window shading, solar mass, and so on. But whatever the method or combination of methods, they must show that their homes will not exceed the energy budget before receiving a building permit.

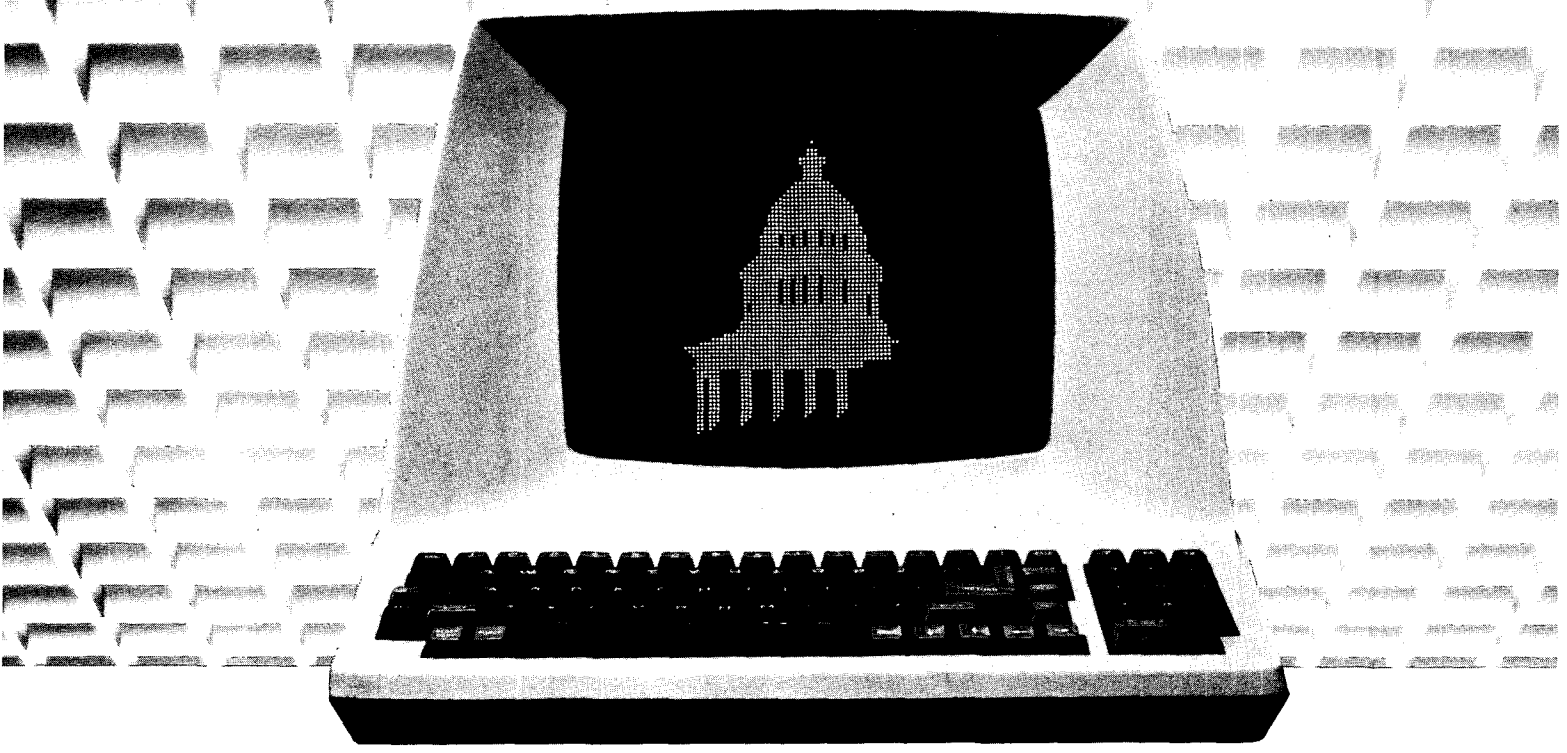
The costs of compliance

The Energy Commission argues that flexible standards allow builders to meet the requirements in the most cost-effective manner. It estimates that compliance costs less than $1,000 in several climate zones (notably San Diego), and in no case more than $3,000. But over the 30-year life of a typical home mortgage, the standards could save from $16,000 to $28,000 in utility bills. Builders dispute both contentions, arguing that front-end costs are substantially higher, and the savings, in energy and dollars, substantially lower. Collin, the building industry lobbyist, says, for instance, that the commission's energy budgets assume that homes are built on concrete slabs with asphalt tile or linoleum floor covering. As a result, he says, persons who want homes with raised floors and rugs have big problems.

Bill Huston, program manager for the Energy Commission, says that the commission used slab floors (with their heating and cooling benefits) to set a standard for the new energy budgets. However, he points out, the aim of the new system is to allow other devices, such as heavier insulation, to balance the loss of such things as slab floors. In any case,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Information is Power

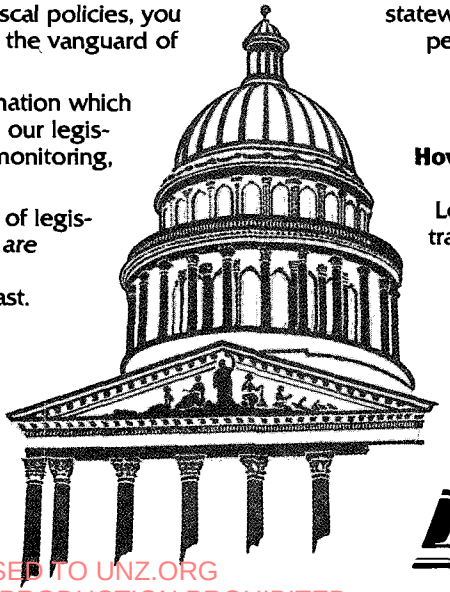


In our complex world of legislation and ever-changing fiscal policies, you need to get to the core of the matter to put your office in the vanguard of political decision making.

Tired of being put on hold or waiting for political information which has been delayed in the mail? Welcome to Legi-Tech. With our legislative tracking system, you will find yourself in a new era, monitoring, even influencing events in Sacramento.

Create your own instant vote analysis. Choose a block of legislative members and see what percentage of the time they are supporting or opposing your position on bills. Determine precisely when favorable and unfavorable votes are being cast.

Locate bills that affect your interests. You can search by subject, author, date of introduction, status or California code section. Obtain the description, summary, history and status of any piece of legislation. As if that's not enough, you can review any or all campaign contributions to California's Assemblymen, Senators and statewide office holders. In fact, you can perform your own special analysis of specific contributions to specific legislative committees. Legi-Tech makes it easy.



How do we do it? Modern computer efficiency is the foundation of the Legi-Tech System. Just two hours of training puts your office in charge of the largest, most comprehensive political information database in the west. What's more, it started right here in Sacramento.

Get more information or better yet, a demonstration of the Legi-Tech system by calling Colt Stewart:

Legi-Tech

Legi-Tech • 1121 L Street • The Senator Hotel • Suite 207 • Sacramento, CA 95814 • (916) 447-1886

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Collin says that his organization made an agreement with former Governor Brown in return for his signing of the 1982 bill that created the delayed enforcement schedule. "Our commitment was not to start a guerrilla war against the standards, and we won't," he says.

Sentiment for change

But there is sentiment in the Legislature to make changes nevertheless. Among those considering legislation is freshman Republican Assemblyman Tom McClintock of Thousand Oaks. He says that energy savings are slow to accumulate in some of the milder climate areas of the state, such as those along the Southern California coast. "We may want to relax the (construction) standards in areas where the payback takes 15 or 20 years," he says. However, McClintock says he has no desire for an outright repeal and sees little chance for it even if he did.

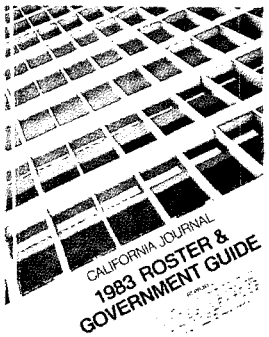
Although the Energy Commission developed the standards, they are to be enforced by local building departments as part of the permit application process. The commission's role is supposed to involve training the local officials to understand and enforce the new rules, provide them with technical assistance and monitor the programs.

But Governor Deukmejian's proposed budget severely cuts the commission's Buildings and Appliance Office which has responsibility for the standards. Under the governor's budget, the office will drop to four, from a high of 28 just two years ago. As one official comments, "If personnel for technical assistance, training and enforcement are eliminated, you might as well eliminate the whole office."

Nevertheless, several local governments are going ahead with the new requirements, putting them into effect even before the exemptions expire in June and December this year. Such actions require Energy Commission approval. Commission officials say they have given it so far to Santa Clara and Santa Cruz counties and to the cities of Davis and Roseville. According to the commission, Santa Cruz County officials estimate that delaying the new requirements until June 1983 would result in energy costs to Santa Cruz residents of approximately $37 million over the next 30 years.

The city of Roseville, northeast of Sacramento, established the new requirements last January 1st, estimating that they will cover 350 to 500 homes that otherwise would have been built under the earlier rules. City officials estimate that the requirements will increase construction costs by 2 to 4 percent, resulting in an increased mortgage cost of $25 to $50 a month. However, they say, the cost increase will be overcome by energy savings within several years.

Actually, the Roseville standards are not quite as stringent as the new state rules. Energy Commission estimates are that the state rules budget about 30,000 BTUs per square foot of space per year. The Roseville standards budget about 38,000. But even so, an energy pamphlet (*Energy Currents*) sponsored by the County Supervisors Association of California, League of California Cities, utilities and others concedes that even the Roseville rules will make it more difficult to build affordable homes for the average wage earner. "But," it goes on, "construction of 'affordable housing' without efficient energy design will result in housing with 'unaffordable' utility costs . . ."



ROSTER UPDATE

The following updates and corrections should be added to the *California Journal Roster and Government Guide*, published in the February issue:

Page 3: The new director of Alcoholic Beverage Control is Jay R. Stroh.

The Solid Waste Management Board should be listed as the California Waste Management Board.

Page 4: The State and Consumer Services Agency address is 915 Capitol Mall, Suite 200.

The new California Youth Authority director is James Rowland.

Page 5: The new Agriculture Labor Relations Board general counsel is David Stirling.

The new director of the California Arts Council is Marilyn Ryan.

Page 6: Senator Leroy Greene's main district office zip code is 95826.

Page 7: Senator Herschel Rosenthal represents District 22, not 24.

Congressman Richard Lehman's correct telephone number is (209) 487-5760.

Senator Dan McCorquodale's main district office zip code is 95110.

Page 9: The correct district office telephone number for Assemblywoman Gloria Molina is (213) 721-5557.

Assemblyman Byron Sher's new district office address and telephone number are 785-C Castro St., Mountain View 94041, (415) 961-6031.

Assemblywoman Lucy Killea's main district office address and telephone number are 2550 Fifth Ave., Suite 1020, San Diego 92103, (619) 232-2046.

Page 11: The following Senate standing committees have been revised:

Banking and Commerce: Add Beverly; drop Ellis.

Business and Professions: Add Lockyer, Watson; drop Hart, Keene.

Housing and Urban Affairs: Add Ellis; drop Beverly.

Industrial Relations: Add Richardson; drop Ellis.

Natural Resources and Wildlife: Add McCorquodale; drop Lockyer.

Public Employment and Retirement: Add Hart, Royce; drop Russell, Watson.

Transportation: Add Ellis; drop Richardson.

Page 12: The following Assembly standing committees have been revised:

Judiciary: Add Mojonnier; drop Wyman.

Natural Resources: Add Wyman; drop Mojonnier.

Utilities and Commerce: Drop Mountjoy and Young.

Water, Parks and Wildlife: Add Filante; drop McClintock.

Aging and Long Term Care: Add Norman Waters; drop Hughes.

Revenue and Taxation: Add McClintock.

Governmental Organization: Add Young.

Labor and Employment: Add Tanner.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

'Creative' rules for adults-only rentals

By KATHERINE BISHOP

One year after the state Supreme Court's controversial ruling that landlords cannot discriminate against families with children in rental housing, experts in the field are saying that the situation for families is not very different from before.

Low vacancy rates in many areas allow landlords to pick and choose, and when faced with the possibility of kid-caused damage, they are not likely to pick families with children. And where landlords cannot pick and choose, they are using illegal and/or "creative" regulations to limit the number of children on their property.

On February 8th, 1982, in the case of *Marina Point, Ltd. v. Stephen Wolfson et al.*, the Supreme Court held that the Unruh Civil Rights Act protects all persons from abritrary discrimination and thus prevents the exercise of a no-children policy in rental housing. In its decision, the court cited studies which showed that families with children were excluded from 60 to 80 percent of rental housing in the major metropolitan areas.

To Carol Schiller, deputy director of the state Fair Employment and Housing Practices Commission (FEHPC), the court's holding "was so abundantly clear we hoped the industry would voluntarily comply, but we've had no evidence of it." The FEHPC has neither the staff nor the resources to process the more than 1,300 cases charging discrimination against children in housing reported since last April, Schiller says. Instead, the commission has concentrated on educating apartment owners' groups about the ruling and informing newspapers that it is now illegal to carry "adults only" advertising. Nevertheless, "adults only" signs can still be seen throughout the state. The FEHPC is considering legal action against any newspaper which continues to run the illegal ads.

While such practices are easily spotted, dealing with more subtle restrictions can be a tricky business. Marcia Fein, fair housing coordinator for the Mid-Peninsula Citizens for Fair Housing (MPFH) in Palo Alto, says landlords are using techniques other than outright bans on children since the *Wolfson* decision. "Adults only" sections are created in apartment complexes by refusing to allow children in the units next to the swimming pool or above the first floor. Often, apartment rules restrict children regarding the use of common facilities such as recreation rooms. In some complexes, children may use swimming pools only during certain hours which happen to coincide with school hours. Others have regulations against riding tricycles or throwing frisbees.

Landlords also may charge "hotel rents" — computing the rent on the number of occupants in the unit. Or they may add a surcharge on deposits for each "extra" person. While such rules apply equally to all renters, large families or single parents with children obviously wind up paying more than would a childless couple or a group of singles sharing an apartment.

But the chief source of complaints to MPFH about economic discrimination is a practice known as occupancy limitation, Fein says. Under this rule, there must be a bedroom for every person occupying the unit. For example, a single mother with two small children would be forced to rent a three-bedroom unit just as three single adults would. By not allowing kids to share a bedroom, the rent is greatly increased, often beyond what is affordable.

MPFH's investigation of one such complaint has led to the filing of a lawsuit against a 60-unit apartment complex in Sunnyvale by a married couple who recently had their first child. Having lived in a two-bedroom unit at the complex for five years, they were told that they would have to move to a three-bedroom unit — at an extra $200 per month rent. The Palo Alto City Council recently passed an ordinance outlawing occupancy limitation (except as required by housing codes), surcharges and eviction based on pregnancy.

Dugald Gillies, a lobbyist for the California Association of Realtors in Sacramento, says landlords risk greater financial burdens in renting to families because of greater wear and tear and higher energy costs. Children are often "less disciplined" than adults in conserving heat and water, he says.

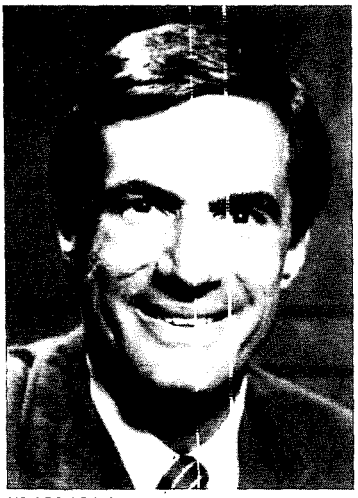
The Supreme Court, in *Wolfson*, ruled that children cannot be banned on the prediction of misconduct. It held that "even a true generalization about the class is an insufficient reason for disqualifying an individual to whom the generalization does not apply."

But Schiller thinks the situation will not change much unless a public outcry convinces the Legislature to find funds for a "crash project" against housing discrimination, or until some private attorneys decide to do some strategic *pro bono* litigation.

Katherine Bishop is a free-lance writer in San Francisco.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

San Diego's 'Gang of Four' in the race to replace Pete Wilson


HEDGECOCK

O'CONNOR

CLEATOR

MITCHELL

By WILLIAM OSBORNE

When Senator-elect Pete Wilson gave his final State of the City address in San Diego last January and then jumped on a plane for Washington, D.C., he left behind a mayoral office with more power and prestige than was ever envisioned in the 52-year-old city charter. That legacy — produced largely through Wilson's force of personality and political clout — is the brass ring that his would-be successors hope to grab in the current political merry-go-round of the special mayoral elections.

The primary is March 15th and, if no candidate captures more than 50 percent of the vote (and none is expected to), a runoff between the top two contenders will be held May 3rd. The prospect of becoming San Diego's 30th mayor drew a record 20 candidates into the race. At the top of the heap is a group some have irreverently dubbed as "the Gang of Four":

• County Supervisor **Roger Hedgecock,** 36. He began planning for this race shortly after his re-election to a second term in 1980 and built an impressive base of bipartisan support and a low-overhead, largely volunteer campaign organization. He is bright and easily the most articulate of the major candidates. But Hedgecock is an environmentalist Republican who has never enjoyed the support of his party's establishment or of the city's business community. He faces a perception in some quarters that he is abrasive, impatient, overly ambitious and cannot always be trusted.

• Port Commissioner **Maureen O'Connor,** 36. The only woman and the only Democrat among the major candidates, O'Connor is basing her campaign on the fact that she has the most experience in local government. She has served eight years on the council and three years as an appointee to the City Crime Commission, the Metropolitan Transit Development Board and the Unified Port District Commission. But, like Hedgecock, O'Connor evokes strong negative emotions among some who say she was inaccessible and ineffective as a councilwoman and failed to serve the basic constituent needs of her district.

• City Councilman **Bill Cleator,** 55. With the heavy support of the downtown business community and the Republican establishment, Cleator has a strongly financed campaign. He also is taking great political advantage of his title as deputy mayor, a post rotated annually among council members and which had little real meaning until Wilson vacated the top job. But, having been in office just one term, Cleator is the least well-known of the top four and, as the most conservative of the group, he will clearly have the most trouble attracting the Democratic votes he will need to win.

• City Councilman **Bill Mitchell,** 49. He lacks the financial resources and organization of the others — his campaign manager is an insurance broker with no political experience — and he has in the past faced public relations problems stemming from a lingering perception that he is an intellectual lightweight. But Mitchell, a renegade Republican and self-styled "populist," has boundless energy that he is putting to use in a 500-mile campaign walk through the entire city. He also has a track record of winning tough races, having defeated an established incumbent to win his seat in 1977 and winning re-election against an opponent who outspent him 5 to 1.

Expensive campaigns

The 16 others in the pack are an interesting lot. Among them: a man who once threw a pie at John Dean and is the former head of "Potheads for Pete," supposedly set up to help Wilson's Senate bid; another who, at 64, is billing himself as the "singles" candidate; and a machinist running on the Socialist Workers Party platform. None of the 16 has demonstrated an ability to organize a campaign, secure significant community support, raise money, attract serious media attention or do the other things usually necessary to win a modern-day election.

William Osborne is a political writer for the San Diego Tribune.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The candidates are conducting the most expensive campaign ever waged for local office in San Diego, with the top four expected to spend some $800,000 for the primary. All funds must be collected under a city ordinance that limits contributions to $250 and prohibits them from corporations, labor unions, political action committees and other organizations.

If any issue has dominated, it is the 10.8 percent unemployment plaguing what the local boosters like to call "America's Finest City." In the last year, the Fed Mart chain of discount stores folded, putting 3,000 employees out of work; the Bumble Bee tuna cannery closed, laying off another 1,000; shipyard employment was down and unemployment in the construction industry ran at a Depression-level of 25 percent.

"It is the number one problem in San Diego and there's nothing else really close to it right now," says Cleator. "I think individuals are really concerned about somebody that they know — a family member, next-door neighbor or whatever — who is out of work."

Cleator argues that, with some three decades of experience as a highly successful businessman in Los Angeles and San Diego, he is the candidate with the best credentials to do something about San Diego's sagging economy. For this race, Cleator says he "stole" the job-creation plan Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley proposed in last year's gubernatorial campaign against now-Governor George Deukmejian. As adopted by Cleator, the plan calls for the city to build a multi-million-dollar pool of money with funds from such things as the sale or lease of surplus public land, the sale of air rights over city streets and public employee pension funds. The city could then provide help, presumably through low-interest loans, to local companies seeking to expand and diversify.

"There are companies out there that have the talent and marketing forces and , with a little help, if they diversified their business they could hire more people," he says. Cleator borrowed another campaign idea from Deukmejian and President Reagan: a commission to study ways to cut down on local regulations that he says are hindering business.

O'Connor and Hedgecock also point to their own past efforts at providing jobs as a key to what could be expected of them as mayor. O'Connor's pride and joy is the San Diego Trolley, a phenomenally successful commuter and tourist rail line from downtown to the Mexican border that would never have been built had she not negotiated the purchase of the 17 miles of right-of-way from the Southern Pacific Railway for the paltry price of $18.1 million.

She also boasts that as chairman, during her city council years, of the California Housing Finance Agency, she "aggressively pushed for tens of millions of dollars" worth of local residential construction contracts to build housing for low-income families and the elderly. And O'Connor points to her ties to Wilson — despite party differences, the two were close council allies and social friends — and California's senior U.S. senator, Democrat Alan Cranston, and how they could help bring federal contracts to San Diego shipbuilding firms.

Hedgecock's claim to job-creation fame is an innovative idea to lease the two huge parking lots flanking either side of the County Administration Center for the development of a hotel, office and shopping complex. The lots are no more than 100 yards from San Diego Bay, offering spectacular unobstructed views of the harbor and Embarcadero, and the concept attracted proposals from four major hotel firms. A $230-million package from the Marriott Corporation was ultimately chosen by the Board of Supervisors. Hedgecock says the development will mean 2,000 construction jobs and 1,500 permanent jobs.

Hedgecock contrasts that accomplishment with the city's long-drawn-out efforts to secure a similar hotel project on the bluffs overlooking the ocean at city-owned Torrey Pines Mesa and a major new convention center downtown.

Mitchell, who includes the jobs issue as just one aspect of his "quality of life" campaign platform, does have one unique idea. He suggests the city hire teen-agers from Southeast San Diego, a largely black community where youth employment is said to be near 40 percent, at minimum wage to trim trees along sidewalks and to clear trails and fire breaks in the city's numerous canyon parks.

Mitchell, like each of the others, also talks of the job-creating potential of Otay Mesa near the Mexican border, perhaps the last remaining large chunk of San Diego real estate suitable for residential and industrial development.

Clearly, unemployment has not been the only campaign issue. All the candidates have spoken at length, often sounding remarkably similar, on what to do about crime, growth management, transportation problems, the lack of future water supplies and the lack of low- and medium-priced housing.

Some also have their own favorite themes. For O'Connor, it is the staggering increase in utility rates by the privately held San Diego Gas & Electric Company and the need for the next mayor to be an "aggressive consumer advocate" at rate hearings before the state Public Utilities Commission.

For Hedgecock, it is the development of alternative and innovative ideas to solve old problems, such as creating "public power" through cogeneration or trash-to-energy projects, with the electricty that is generated being sold to SDG&E.

And for Mitchell, it is the establishment of a city-operated "farm" somewhere in the county where "derelicts and inebriates" from each of the 17 cities in the region could be sent to dry out and learn the skills of row farming, dairy farming and animal husbandry. It is not clear what they would do with those skills once learned, but Mitchell says if they liked the place they could just stay there.

Mitchell also is alone among the top four in advocating a return to the "strong city manager" balance of power at City Hall that existed before Wilson. He says he would cut the mayor's office budget nearly in half, give the council "more equitability" in appointments to boards and commissions and is considering recommending abolition of the council's committee structure.

But, as in many campaigns, none of the candidates expects that issues will be the deciding factor in who ultimately wins. Rather, they say, it will be won or lost on the basis of the public perception of each candidate's personality, experience and leadership ability.

Voter turnout may also have something to do with it. In 1971, the last open mayoral election, Wilson and his opponents drew 57.9 percent of the registered voters to the polls in the primary. But this is a special election, without city council races or ballot propositions to add interest, and most experts are predicting a turnout of 30 to 40 percent. Just who turns out to vote will obviously be the crucial test. Democrats, notoriously low-turnout voters, outnumbered Republicans in San Diego by 208,270, or 46.2 percent to 172,051, or 38.2 percent, in mid-January figures.

And as a key to the mood of the San Diego electorate lately, consider the results in last November's statewide election. Republican Wilson beat Democrat Jerry Brown by just 16,323 votes out of 301,692 cast in Wilson's home town, with a winning percentage nearly five points lower than his statewide margin of 53 percent. And Democrat Bradley actually carried San Diego against Deukmejian by nearly 7,800 votes.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Community colleges' challenge: setting priorities for survival

By MICHAEL FALLON

Suddenly, it has all changed for the state's community colleges. From the most enviable perch in California public education -- free from university-research shackles, able to offer the courses their consumers wanted, well-funded and independent -- they have fallen into a swamp of state controls.

Local control, dogma for the community colleges, is seen by them to be under siege. Until Proposition 13 ended their ability to raise tax funds locally, they relied on the state for only about 40 percent of their revenue. Now they are 70 to 80 percent dependent on the state for income — and the state is strapped for money.

Within the past two years, suggestions and directives have poured down from the keepers of the threadbare purse in Sacramento:

- **Most recently,** Governor Deukmejian issued a 1983-84 budget call for student fees, in the last state in the nation to maintain tuition-free community colleges.
- **Last year,** the Legislature deferred a vote on student fees but sliced $30 million from the colleges' apportionment by removing avocational courses from state funding.
- **From the California** Postsecondary Education Commission, an advisory group with listenership in the Legislature, has come a recommendation that the colleges establish an "academic floor" below which remedial instruction would not be offered.
- **The community colleges'** own state Board of Governors, once the least intrusive policy-setting state board in public education, has drafted a "statement of mission and statewide priorities" and is pushing for minimum standards and comprehensive planning.

"I think we're going through an almost revolutionary period in what the state expects from community colleges," says Leland Myers, director of the Orange County Community College Consortium. "I'd call it 'revolutionary' rather than 'evolutionary' because it's occurring so rapidly."

The issues to be decided are clear, even if the answers are not: Who is to have access to community-college education? What courses are to be offered, and who decides what they are? How much of the community colleges' time and money should be spent on re-teaching skills supposedly learned in elementary and high schools? And who pays the bills — the state, the community, the students or some combination of them?

Whatever the nature of the changed expectations, California's community colleges continue to be the largest postsecondary education undertaking in the western world. This year, 1.4 million students (80 percent of them part-time) are enrolled in 107 colleges, and the 70 locally administered college districts are receiving $1.1 billion in state funds for operations.

Michael Fallon is the education writer for the Sacramento Union.

The role of the community colleges has expanded enormously beyond what was envisioned in the state Master Plan for Higher Education 23 years ago. Then, the two-year junior colleges were to offer "standard collegiate courses for transfer to higher institutions; vocational-technical fields leading to employment; and general, or liberal arts courses." But during the 1960s and '70s, as the junior colleges became community colleges, they gained huge enrollments by providing avocational, recreational and personal-development courses. The offerings ranged from pet care to bicycle repair; from jazzercise and belly dancing to scuba diving and flycasting; from stained glass to personal income-tax preparation. Many districts gave the classes for credit and without a fee, relying on state funds from average daily attendance (ADA) to pay for costs. Other districts considered the offerings to be non-credit, community-service classes and charged students a fee. When the budget-cutting began, it hit the first category much harder than the second.

Last year, in the 1982-83 state budget, the Legislature ordered a $30 million reduction in state funding for the avocational-recreational-personal development courses. It became the thankless assignment of the colleges' Board of Governors last summer to decide very quickly which courses should be cut off from state support. The board approved a "hit list" of 30 specific physical education courses and 10 specific fine arts courses. Lopped off from state funding were such popular offerings as pet care, surfing, square dancing, stained glass and — a source of controversy — real

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

estate classes, except for those designed to lead to the entry-level sales license.

The impact differed among districts, depending on the number of suddenly banned courses that they had been providing without student fees. Less than $9,000 was lost in the Palo Verde district in Riverside, but the Coast district in Orange County lost almost $4 million. Individual colleges had to cut anywhere from half a dozen to more than 120 separate courses.

"That's really the main indicator we've had that the state government has priorities that have not been our priorities in the past," says Myers, whose Orange County consortium represents four districts and seven colleges. "Unfortunately, as so often is the case, these changes in priorities are occasioned by fiscal problems rather than by careful examination of the educational needs of the state."

Most of the "hit list" classes in the 35,000-student North Orange County Community College District did not survive as fee classes, according to district Chancellor Leadie M. Clark, and North Orange's $52 million budget had to absorb an $800,000 reduction. Many of the dropped classes — such as real estate, aeronautics ground school, some cooking courses and photography — were "vocationally related," she says. "We lost a scuba diving class, which was part of our marine biology program. Scuba diving was not there just for the heck of it."

As Clark sees it, "When policy makers from a distance start dictating the curriculum, with no responsibility for the end results, one has the loaded pistol." It would have been better, in her judgment, for the Board of Governors to allow each local district to "come up with its own list of courses that were finally blessed or damned."

State Chancellor Gerald C. Hayward replies that "because the time was so short and we had to get a specified total dollar amount, it had to be done at the state level. We could not prorate this on district size. We had to apply uniform educational principles to determine each district's share."

Community colleges still handle their traditional missions — preparing students for transfer to four-year colleges or for entry into the job market — "exceedingly well," a three-year study recently concluded. Researchers M. Stephen Sheldon of Pierce College in Los Angeles and Clive L. Grafton of the University of Southern California tracked 6,550 students from 15 campuses throughout the state. They found that most students aiming for a bachelor's degree "with competence and self-discipline" eventually transfer to a four-year institution. Among students in the vocational sample, most continually improved their jobs. Their hourly wage increased by an average of $2.09.

But 27 percent of the entire sample — projected statewide, this could mean 378,000 students — were characterized by Sheldon and Grafton as the "special interest" group. It included hobbyists (12.4 percent); "education seekers" who "feel a vague discomfort or guilt if they are not enrolled in a reasonably academic course" (6.3 percent); "explorer experimenters" who attend "primarily to study themselves and explore avenues of potential employment or a continuation of their education" (4 percent); and "art and culture" students (4 percent).

Included, too, were students (2.9 percent) who attend a college to improve basic skills. Many are recent immigrants whose goal is to improve their English.

"The capability of California community colleges to continue to offer a potpourri of education is questionable," the researchers said. "There is a shortage of money for higher education and no indication that more will be available in the next several years. Because community colleges can no longer fulfill all the postsecondary educational needs of their service areas, they must establish priorities among the multitudes of courses and programs they presently offer."

An 'academic floor'

Considerable priority setting is likely to take place in this legislative session. The state's current formula for financing the colleges' operations will expire in June, and legislation is being introduced to revise the formula.

In a year when the state treasury is depleted, prospects for the colleges are not bright. The ample reserve funds of some local districts, spared by the Legislature last year, would appear to be highly vulnerable this year. Moreover, all the districts will be entering 1983-84 budget negotiations at a disadvantage. Their state allocations this year were insufficient to fund either inflation or enrollment growth, and then they received the $30 million cut in funding for avocational courses.

The suggestion to establish avocational courses as fee classes came originally from the California Postsecondary Education Commission, which now is taking aim at the growth of remedial classes in the colleges. A study by the commission staff estimated that the community colleges spent at least $66 million for teaching, counseling and testing remedial students in 1980-81. This, the staff said, reflected a 36.6 percent increase from 1978-79 and a 17.7 percent rise from 1979-80.

In calling for an "academic floor" below which instruction would not be offered, commission analyst Joan S. Sallee said: "Although second-grade reading, writing and arithmetic may be considered 'preparatory' to college-level work in some long-range view, such work should be mastered during the student's elementary or secondary years."

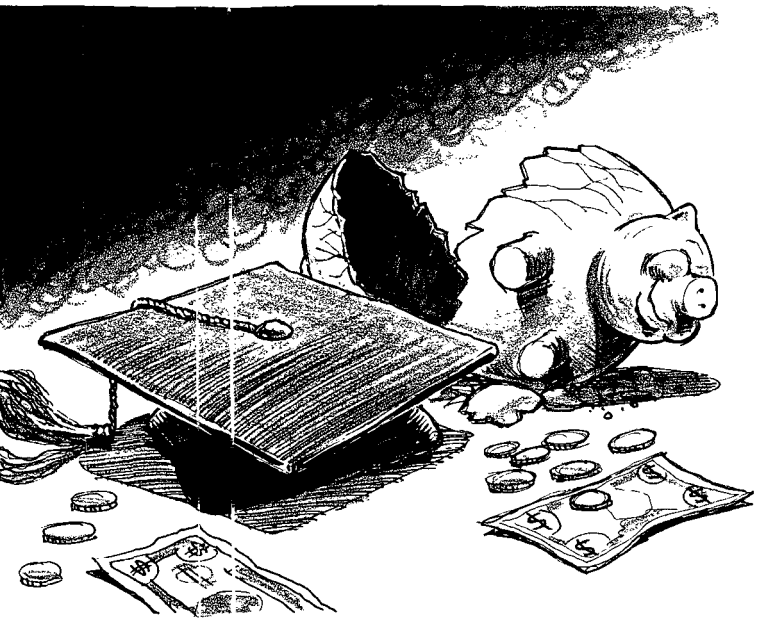
Sallee's report said the community colleges could protect educational integrity without forfeiting open admissions if they were to admit all students who demonstrate a certain level of competence. "For example, if the ability to read, write and compute at the sixth-grade level is deemed appropriate for college-level work at a community college, then every student with these capabilities can be admitted. Thus the college remains an open-admissions institution with an academic floor . . ."

As revised in the face of opposition from the community colleges, and approved by the commission, the report suggested the floor "may be common to all colleges, programs and majors across the state or may differ as each college

Advertisement

Sacramento engineering and technical consulting firm familiar with State agencies invites inquiries from companies interested in assistance with regulatory energy and environmental matters. For further information, contact President, 455 Capitol Mall, Suite 302, Sacramento 95814. All inquiries confidential.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



population differs." Under the commission's recommendation, students performing below this level would be directed to their local adult school.

Hayward disagrees with this recommendation because, in his view, the present demand for remediation is so great. "I think it's an essential part of our mission," he says. "I don't think we can afford to deny educational opportunity to a whole generation of people who can't read or write or compute. But ultimately, that's a K-12 (kindergarten through 12th grade) problem, and ultimately we'd like very much to be out of the business of remediation."

Hayward acknowledges that a student entering a community college with reading ability at the fourth grade level would have "zero probability" for acceptance two years later at a University of California campus. But the academic floor used for university-bound students cannot be used for community college students seeking occupational skills, he says. "We have to look at the appropriateness of establishing a single floor when, in the community colleges, we have a multiplicity of students."

The hottest issue

Should the multiplicity pay tuition? That will be the front-burner community college issue in the Legislature this year. Deukmejian has proposed first-ever "attendance" fees of $100 a year for full-time students and $60 for part-time students. Under the governor's proposal, there would be no increase in financial aid for needy students. The $111.7 million projected to be raised from the fees would still leave the colleges about $13 million short of the $1.48 billion they are getting this year in state and local revenue. The fee money would not be supplementary.

That is not what the colleges' Board of Governors — its members appointed by former Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr. — has in mind. Responding to the Legislature's request last year to prepare a "contingency plan" for charging fees, the board in December reaffirmed its opposition to tuition. Any fee imposed as a long-term policy should be charged just to those students whose objectives are primarily personal and who are not pursuing a specific degree or occupational certificate, board members said.

The board position was that if the Legislature decides to charge a general fee, it should be regarded as an emergency measure restricted to 1983-84 only — as low an amount as possible and uniform for all students in all districts. Substantial financial aid should be provided for low-income students if any fees are imposed. And revenues from the fee should supplement, not simply substitute for, public tax subsidies.

That is the position, too, of Assemblyman John Vasconcellos, chairman of the Assembly Ways and Means Committee. "If any fees are enacted, the governor's plan is totally unacceptable," he says. "It doesn't set aside any financial aid, and the community colleges have traditionally had the students least financially able to pay anything. If the deficit is a recession product, there will no longer be a need to have any fees when the recession ends, so they should be temporary."

The Board of Trustees of the Sacramento-based Los Rios Community College District contends that first-time students — the ones considered most likely to take a full load of courses leading to transfer to a four-year university or college, or to immediate employment — should be exempted from fees.

"These high school graduates are the ones most entitled to at least two years of tuition-free higher education, and about 50 percent of our students fall into this category," says district Chancellor David Mertes. "However, Deukmejian proposes that the full-time student be taxed more heavily than part-time students, and in that the governor has his priorities backward."

Tuition would not bring a sharp drop in overall enrollment in the high-growth Los Rios district, he says, because state funding caps on growth have forced the district to turn away thousands of students from high-technology, business and electronics programs, as well as from classes in such basic subjects as English and mathematics. But a fee "may well be an insurmountable obstacle, psychologically as well as economically" for low-income students, Mertes says, and could lead to the end of California's "commitment to non-elitist higher education."

Equalizing revenue

While tuition clearly will be the major community college financing issue before the Legislature, another issue of substantial importance will be equalizing the revenue that college districts receive. Although some equalization effort has been made since passage of Proposition 13, it has been marginal. Essentially, state aid has been an add-on to the revenue that districts had when property tax receipts made them either high-wealth or low-wealth.

"We receive $400 less per ADA than Los Angeles, and every year we fall behind," Mertes says. "The band between districts should be very narrow and any exceptions made for clearly defined reasons."

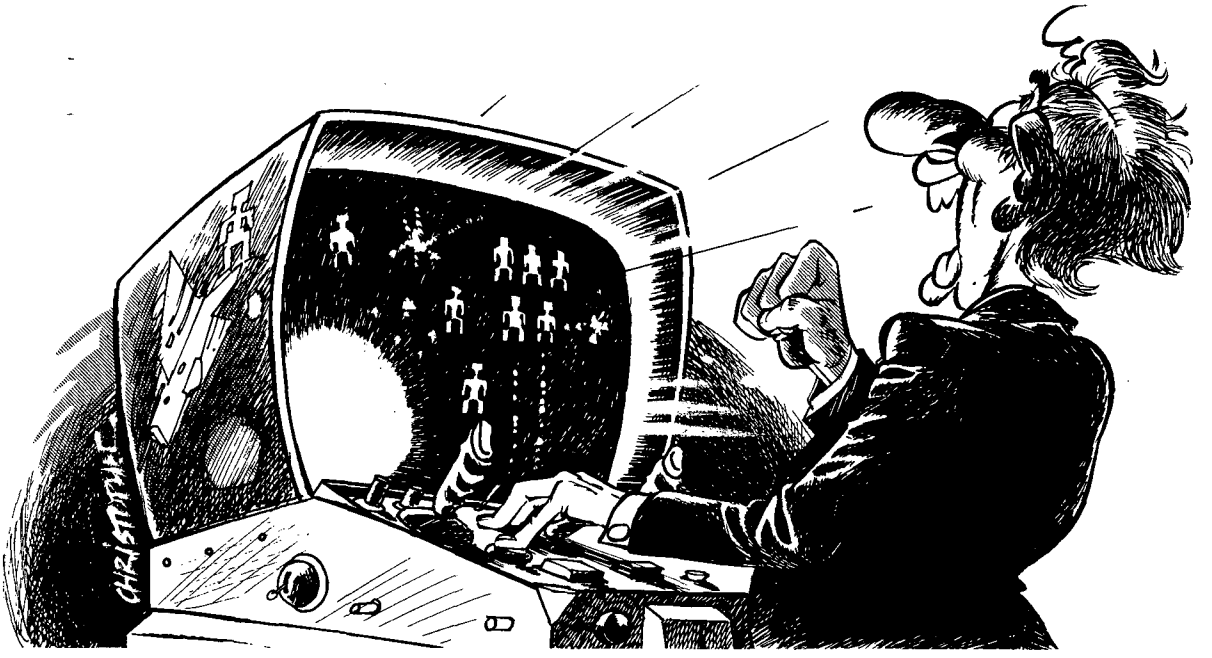
State Chancellor Hayward believes that any equalization plan should be based on cost differences among academic and vocational programs rather than on ADA. The legislative package that he is trying to assemble would separate out lower-cost adult education programs and the untypically high operational costs of very small districts. It would then seek to ensure that districts with similar academic-vocational programs get similar funding.

Patrick Callan, director of the postsecondary commission, predicts that "the state's definition of what is fundable and what is not fundable will be extremely important. The state will set the parameters and determine access to what, for whom and who shall pay for it. But actual control — which courses are taught, which faculty members are hired, even collective bargaining — will remain with the local districts."

Callan says that he can understand how local trustees, their discretionary dollars taken away from them, "feel a loss of control, that the strings are being pulled by somebody else . . . Think about how drastically the world has changed for these people in a very short time."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRY STATE INVADERS, TAXXON AND HONKEY KONG



(Video games are becoming ever more realistic and challenging, as any arcade addict can testify. Thus it was only a matter of time before someone devised a new generation of electronic games for the players involved in real-life government and politics. Some of these games are described below by Bill Richards, a free-lance writer in Los Angeles.)

• **PAC-MAN.** You are the representative of a Political Action Committee, running through the legislative office building picking up votes. Can you get a unanimous vote before the five gremlins of the Fair Political Practices Commission catch you and force a disastrous audit? Race to special energizer dots (Firehouse, Frank Fat's, etc.) and get additional votes.

• **STATE INVADERS.** A large group of menacing legislators hovers in the sky over a hapless city, dropping cost mandates. Can you maneuver your lobbyist to shoot down the invaders before your city is destroyed?

• **FREEWAY.** Drive your official car at break-neck speeds over city streets and highways, dodging the dreaded Breathalyzer. How many official cars can you wreck and still stay in office?

• **TAXXON.** Faced with imminent bankruptcy, you must find ways to raise your income. Can you find yet another way to get money out of the people without inciting a rebellion? Try the time-honored ploys of Surcharge or Excise, or devise your own, while trying to avoid the Ghost of Howard Jarvis.

• **HONKEY KONG.** You are a young, ambitious black legislator, trying to climb the power structure while the White Establishment throws barrels and other obstacles. Can you avoid the falling objects and get to the top? What will you be like when you get there?

• **TRON.** "Try Running On Nothing" the exciting game of political campaigning, pits you against one or any number of competitors to garner the elusive Campaign Donations. Maneuver around your opponents; malign, lie and beg to avoid the dreaded Negative Cash Flow. If you lose, you can try walking away from the game, but be prepared to keep playing for years!

• **MEGAMANIAN.** See how many people from your own ethnic group you can maneuver into high appointive or elective office. Bonus points for influencing appointments to an office you have no control over.

• **GASTROIDS.** Play political games and try to keep your stomach lining intact.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GOP Chairman Ed Reinecke, back in the political limelight

By RICHARD ZEIGER

Former Lieutenant Governor Ed Reinecke, the new chairman of the California Republican Party, is remembered by most people as a rising political star whose career was cut short by a Watergate-era perjury conviction. But now that he's back in the political limelight, Reinecke is hoping people, and particularly the press, will be willing to consign that episode to the past.

"I don't think it's relevant. It's old; it's history. It's been printed a hundred, a thousand times," says Reinecke. "Anyone who's still interested should go back and read papers from 1973 and '74."

Reinecke would much prefer to look ahead — to building a state Republican Party with new appeal for minority voters, especially among blacks and Hispanics. He believes that the GOP has lost such groups to Democrats by default and that many minorities are truly Republicans at heart.

"These are people who have suffered deprivation and oppression," Reinecke says. "They know and feel the boot of heavy-handed government . . . and therefore should be responsive to the Republican philosophy."

After nearly a decade in private life — paying huge legal fees accumulated during his trial and appeal — Reinecke at age 59 is enthusiastic about party leadership but not about elective office. "The only thing I'd be interested in is governor or senator, and I'm too old for that," he says. "Besides, while I'm still young enough, I've got a few things I want to do."

Nine years ago, Reinecke had good reason to think of himself as a future governor. He was a handsome, popular Republican congressman, appointed by then-Governor Ronald Reagan as lieutenant governor to replace Robert Finch, who had resigned to take a job in Richard Nixon's White House. By all accounts, Reinecke was on his way to succeeding Governor Reagan. In February 1974, public opinion polls showed him ahead of Houston Flournoy by 2 to 1 for the Republican nomination. Money was flowing easily into his campaign.

But by April he had been indicted by a federal grand jury for perjury in testimony to a U.S. Senate committee. The campaign money stopped; he lost the primary by a substantial margin and later in the year had to resign his state office after a jury found him guilty. He was given an 18-month suspended sentence. His conviction was later overturned when an appellate court found the prosecution had not proved a quorum of the Senate Judiciary Committee was present when Reinecke gave his supposedly perjured testimony.

Just about everyone in the Republican Party thinks Reinecke got a raw deal. Even skeptics (and Reinecke has no public detractors) say he was, at worst, a tangential figure in the Watergate scandals — a sideshow act that somehow got pushed into the center ring and then trampled under the big elephants when the circus tent began to collapse.

Fighting the case cost him more than $190,000 and nearly ruined Reinecke financially. Among other things, he was forced to sell his prize herd of purebred Charolais breeding cattle that were kept on his 225-acre ranch near Diamond Springs, east of Sacramento. He now runs a real estate business out of his home in Cameron Park and recently sold a restaurant he owned in Diamond Springs.

Reinecke expects to devote most of his time to his new state post. His performance during the last two years as vice chairman impressed party office holders, particularly his handling of the money in the Cal Plan, the Republican program for winning legislative races. He managed to keep a course between competing factions of the party without offending either side.

"He handled it superbly. He handled the job very professionally and he didn't play favorites," says Assembly Minority Leader Robert Naylor.

In that job, Reinecke raised nearly $1 million to be split among Senate and Assembly candidates. He'd like to have much more two years from now, but he realizes he will be competing with President Reagan for Republican campaign dollars. The competition doesn't bother Reinecke much,

Richard Zeiger covers the Capitol for the Riverside Press-Enterprise.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

however, because he believes his "first job as party chairman is to re-elect the president.

"And the way I can do that is to expand the party. By that I mean to minorities or what we call outreach groups — groups that get together for ethnic or cultural or social reasons. I just have to think . . . that they think a lot more like we do than the opposition party. But I think we've done a very poor job of selling them, and it's up to us to convince these people that they should be registered Republicans."

The key to success is not in out-promising Democrats, Reinecke says: "We're going to be honest with them. I think they are Republicans, they just don't realize it. They feel that, since this is a democracy, they should be Democrats. By and large, I think that's the reasoning that has taken place."

Current efforts by President Reagan and Republicans to cut social programs should be viewed by minority groups as only a "temporary" situation, one that should be balanced against the Republican administration's success in bringing down inflation rates, Reinecke says. He believes voters in these groups can be convinced to look beyond their current economic situation: "It's not easy, I know. But that's our intention."

Broadening the base

At the party's January convention, where he was elected without opposition to a two-year term as party chairman, Reinecke complained about the new congressional district lines drawn by Democrats last December. But he concedes that there is probably little the party can do about them. Any effort to overturn those plans would be expensive and would look to voters like a repeat of last November's unsuccessful ballot measure to take reapportionment out of the hands of lawmakers and turn it over to a commission. "That's substantially what they want to do again this year," he says. "I think the people have spoken. We'll just have to find another way to do it.

"My general feeling is that it's very much an uphill battle, and the outlook is not very good. I think we can spend our time more constructively, our resources more positively, by broadening the base of the party. In effect, doing reapportionment within the existing districts rather than physically moving the lines."

Why not consider another elective office? "I don't think I'll ever be completely out of it," he says. "But I can do more in this position — trying to get a lot of young people elected who will carry on for many years, after I can't do it. I see that as a far greater calling than if I tried to get my own shingle hung up someplace and satisfy one ego."

Reinecke insists it is not his past that keeps him from running again. "It's so old now that people are going to say, 'What the hell are they trying to do?' So it doesn't bother me. I have a very strong conscience, and if I felt I had done something wrong, I'm sure I would not have ever become involved again. But I've never felt I did anything wrong."

A mechanical engineer by training, Reinecke has a few inventions he'd like to try out, mostly in the energy field. He has a house at Lake Tahoe that he hopes to equip with solar devices to "make it energy self-sufficient."

There's also a book he's been toying with for years. It wouldn't be about politics, but rather the ebb and flow of history and the history of ideas. "The thought that there may be an interrelationship between a lot of the mental developments of mankind in different periods that we've failed to recognize. To analyze, on a timeline basis, the high points of, say, literature or invention or mechanical developments, or in forms of government changes, whatever. And see if there are correlations. I think there have been times of cerebrations that we don't recognize." (As to mankind's current status on such a chart, Reinecke says we'd be "pretty flat.")

But work on that project will most likely be delayed for the next two years while Reinecke directs California Republicans from a small office, "filled with the usual trinkets," across the street from the state Capitol where he might have served as governor.

Reinecke says he doesn't dwell much on what might have been, although he is convinced that he could have been governor. "About the only time I think about it is when I think of (state Chief Justice) Rose Bird. Then I think of the appointments I might have made."

The loss, he says, has not changed him a great deal. "With age there's bound to be a certain degree of cynicism about the value of it all, how important it all is. As you move away from the political arena you get a more objective look at it, and you realize it's not too important. It's like two Golden Glove guys swinging away. To them, it's the whole world, but to the outside, it's just a contest."

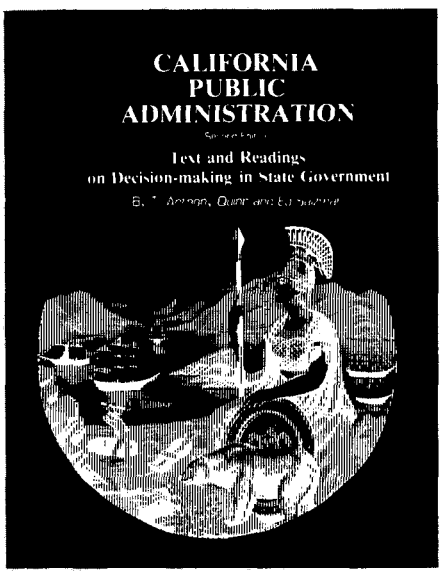
California Public Administration

by T. Anthony Quinn and Ed Salzman

California Public Administration, first published four years ago, has become a basic resource for students of California's system of government and for individuals who want to learn about the inner workings of the state bureaucracy. This new second edition contains a special section on the California tax revolt and the impact of Proposition 13. Sections are included on the top executives, the regulatory agencies, the Legislature, the judicial system, education and the bureaucracy.

The 112-page, large-format book also contains diagrams showing the legislative process, the court system and the state's administrative agencies.

Although this book is designed primarily for classroom use by students of public administration, it will also be a useful tool for anyone seeking to understand how state government works. $5.25 including tax.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Perspective from
WASHINGTON
By Leo Rennert

Off and running

There's still a year to go before Iowa Democrats flock to precinct caucuses and New Hampshire holds the first primary to pick delegates to the 1984 convention. But here was Alan Cranston, California's durable political jogger, bathed in television lights and cheered by enthusiastic supporters, kicking off the quadrennial ritual in the historic Senate Caucus Room with a formal announcement of his presidential candidacy.

THE MARBLED, HIGH-CEILINGED CHAMBER has become an obligatory setting for these carefully staged exercises. It's almost as if it possessed magical powers of its own that might be transferable to candidates on their long and arduous quest across the continent. Actually, its historic record as a successful presidential launching pad isn't all that great. During the last quarter of a century, only John Kennedy made it all the way to the White House. Others who used the old Caucus Room as their starting point — Gene McCarthy, Robert Kennedy, George McGovern, Henry Jackson — fell short.

The splendid classical backdrop also has served as the nation's confessional, where great tragedies and misdeeds are picked apart in sensational congressional hearings — from the sinking of the Titanic and the attack on Pearl Harbor to Joseph McCarthy's suicidal assault on the Army and the Watergate affair. Still, every four years, presidential aspirants renew the pilgrimage, hoping that the glorious setting of the Caucus Room may inspire voters to believe that the right man and the right moment have finally met.

This time, it was the turn of California's senior senator. Even skeptics had to admit he brought it off quite well. As a long-shot contender who's not taken seriously by many political activists and pundits, Cranston had to score well on three important points during that curtain-raiser in the Caucus Room. First, he had to define his own mission so that the Cranston campaign would acquire a distinctive cachet. Second at 68, with the prospect of becoming the oldest man ever inaugurated president, he had to meet headon the age issue. Finally, he couldn't just proceed on his own merits. Right from the start, he had to show that he could direct some solid punches at the two current frontrunners, former Vice President Mondale and Ohio Senator John Glenn.

On all three counts, Cranston performed remarkably well. He was eloquent about the overriding priority of his campaign — to lead the world away from the nuclear brink. He knows his credentials in this area are unexcelled. For nearly four decades, Cranston has been laboring tirelessly in the nuclear-disarmament vineyards. Not only does he know more about this issue than his rivals; he also can rightly claim to have brought more personal dedication to the task than anyone else.

Moreover, Cranston has argued for a long time that the costly arms race has weakened the economies of both East and West. As long as the genie is out of the bottle, he maintains, boom-and-bust cycles will only get worse. In early 1977, during his first Oval Office conversation with a new president, he warned Jimmy Carter that he couldn't lick inflation without reaching an arms-reduction agreement with Moscow. Today, when economic policy debates and budget battles again revolve around soaring Pentagon outlays, Cranston has a ready-made message that may prove highly pertinent to many in the Democratic Party.

Cranston also showed deftness in confronting the age problem, which cast a shadow over his preliminary campaign appearances last year. This time, he went beyond the usual defensive tactic of pointing out that, as a former Stanford track star, he still runs every day and is in fine physical shape. At a time when more Americans live longer than ever before, Cranston brandished his age as a distinct asset. "Some have said that my age might be a handicap," he declared. "I don't believe so. Principles and values don't decline with age. They just grow stronger." He also suggested that, as a member of a generation that conquered the Depression and Nazism, he might well appeal not just to Americans who lived through the same experience but to younger generations who, frightened by new perils at home and abroad, may be ready to confer new respect on those who faced and overcame such challenges.

Cranston also threw aside caution and gentlemanly manners in dealing with the early leaders for the nomination. Mondale and Glenn are showing up higher in the polls at this point, he said, because they simply have more name recognition. Having set up his targets, he lost no time in firing away. Mondale is more widely known because he was Carter's vice president, he argued, and Glenn is coasting on his fame as an astronaut. Such recognition, he added, hardly guarantees presidential competence. The fight ahead is not going to be a tame affair — not if Cranston has his way.

FROM WASHINGTON, CRANSTON FLEW to New Hampshire and California to complete the announcement circuit. He has prepapred a strategy that relies on home-state strength, national fund-raising ability and a big push in several early states. After taking California for granted last year and allowing some rivals to make inroads in his backyard, Cranston bounced back with a serious fence-mending effort. In January, he proved at the state Democratic convention in Sacramento that he knows how to collect IOUs. In New Hampshire, he's far ahead of Glenn in signing up an impressive array of local party activists. He also plans to assign high priority to several other key states, including Iowa, Alabama, Wisconsin, Washington, Massachusetts, Illinois and New York.

In the early going, Cranston's biggest handicap is the conventional wisdom of many political reporters that he's not going to cut the mustard. Never mind that if some of these pundits had been right in the past, recent presidents would have included Hubert Humphrey, Nelson Rockefeller, Ed Muskie and George Bush. As the media increasingly assume the role of arbiters rather than just chroniclers, some candidates are ruled in while others are ruled out to satisfy the new breed of political alchemists. Measured against the rest of the field and the initial reception on the campaign trail, Cranston would appear to have ample running room. The question now is whether a self-important press corps will give him enough breathing room.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

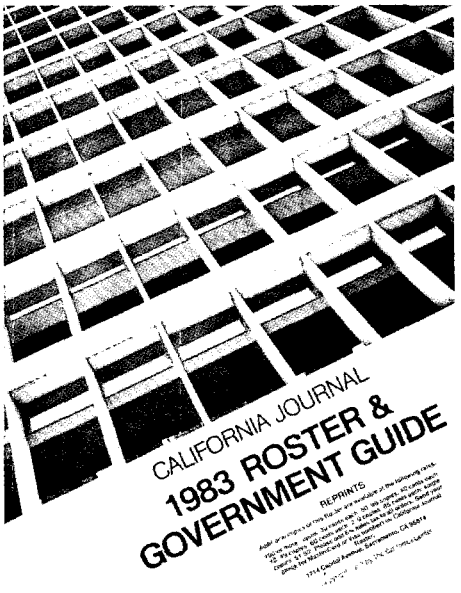
Nobody does it better — or cheaper

The California Journal Roster & Government Guide

The biggest bargain of any publication dealing with California government is now available — the 1983 edition of the **California Journal Roster and Government Guide.** This 16-page booklet is not only inexpensive but it is also the most valuable reference work on the market for anyone even on the fringes of the state government game.

The **Roster** contains the names, addresses and telephone numbers of all Californians in Congress, members of the state Legislature, statewide elected officials and each major department in California government, as well as information on legislative committees, a new legislative process chart, and much more material of use to anyone coming into contact with any branch of state government.

Now for the best news: At the same price as last year, the **Roster** is the biggest bargain in publications on state government and politics. Prices: 100 or more copies, 30 cents each; 50-99, 40 cents each; 10-49 copies, 60 cents each; 2-9 copies, 85 cents each; single copy, $1.50.



In addition to the **Roster and Government Guide,** the California Journal Press publishes a variety of bargain pamphlets containing basic information on California government and politics. The current selection:

Campaign-law guide

The 1982-83 **Practical Guide to State and National Campaign Reform Laws** is a layperson's trip through the maze of election laws in an easy-to-understand question-and-answer format. Prices for reprints: 100 or more copies, 50 cents each; 10-99 copies, 60 cents each; 2-9 copies, 85 cents each; single copy, $1.50.

Legislative District Maps of California

Only the *California Journal* has published a detailed, low-cost booklet describing all 165 legislative and congressional districts for the decade of the 80's — complete with ten maps. This 16-page special report, published in this issue of the *Journal,* is available as a separate item at the following prices: 50 or more copies, 50 cents each; 10-49 copies, 75 cents each; 2-9 copies, 95 cents each; single copy, $1.50.

Send your orders to the California Journal Press, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento 95814. Postage and handling are free on pre-paid, Visa and MasterCard orders. Add sales tax to all but single-copy orders.

Politics are now nothing more than a means of rising in the world.

— Samuel Johnson

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED